SELF-DETERMINATION MEANS DETERMINING SELF: LIFESTYLE POLITICS AND THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA, 1968-1989

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the history of the RNA during its formative years and New Afrikans' efforts to procure territorial independence in order to make their contributions to African American politics better known. It considers in depth the connection between Black self-determination, citizenship, and territorial sovereignty as it seeks to position New Afrikans and their goals more prominently in the historical scholarship of the Black Liberation Movement and in public memory more generally. Next, my dissertation studies how social movement participation impacts activists' identities and mores through the prism of "lifestyle politics," which ensures that activists' humanity remains central to their story. I define lifestyle politics as the everyday *lived practice* of political ideology. It is the constant interpretation, contestation, negotiation, and reproduction of ideas shared between activists, and it elucidates the significance of mundane interactions between each individual and the ideas on which they base the pursuit of their group's goals. Again, making these themes prominent humanizes Black Power activists, and moves the historical scholarship beyond discussions of organization and ideology. Ultimately, I argue that revolution for New Afrikans was a comprehensive process that changed the lives of activists. While embracing, but moving beyond the axiom that the personal was political, I reveal that by shifting the analysis to the daily practice of being a revolutionary, the complicated process of fighting to achieve political goals provides an important space to expand the literature on Black Power and activism in the following decade.

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This dissertation benefitted greatly from the contributions and critiques of many people. Foremost among them are the professors who peopled my dissertation committee: Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, James R. Barrett, Clarence E. Lang, and Erik S. McDuffie. Their recommendations, criticisms, encouragement, and expertise were invaluable and essential to my ability to complete this gargantuan task. Dr. Cha-Jua acted as my adviser in this process. His insights and ability to pull together vast knowledge from seemingly infinite source material benefited me as a student and intellectual.

My family – in terms of birth relatives and kindred spirits whom I had the fortune to meet in recent years – remain the primary inspiration behind my intellectual and scholarly pursuits. They questioned me about my research, the process of completing "the paper," its relevance to society and the various social and political struggles being waged within it, and proposed many (counter)arguments to me and my research subjects. More importantly, they kept me sane while I trudged through this process to which I committed myself in 2004. Their smiles, hugs, company when eating meals, the beds, couches, and floors they provided when traveling, and – most importantly – their genuine desire for me achieve my goal were the best vital in helping me finish. Without them, I would not have "finished" this project.

Throughout my graduate school career, I had opportunities to contribute to various community groups, grassroots organizers, and the efforts of a variety of humane beings who want nothing less than to leave this world in a better condition than they received it. The Chicago Freedom School stands out. As a volunteer and sometimes-paid staff member, I was given several opportunities to meet older scholars and veteran activists. More importantly, I engaged hundreds of Chicago youth. Their positivity, relentless love for all the songs I hate,

uninhibited desire to “make it” and contribute something positive to world in the process, and pure love for each other and CFS justified my decision to pursue a PhD in History.

Finally (in order to keep this brief), my intellectual, spiritual, romantic, and culinary partner, Patricia A. Lott, deserves my utmost appreciation. Among the most intelligent people I have ever encountered, she dedicated innumerable hours to reading and helping make sense of the various words that came together in this dissertation (even as she works hard to complete her own). She posed simple questions that were surprisingly difficult to answer, made sure I did not overdose on coffee when I was stressed, and did all the “right” things that reminded me that I was not alone in this process. Thank you.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

A "sporadic" uprising commenced the night of August 5, 1970 after Lima, Ohio police officers shot and killed an African American woman named Christine Ricks. Ricks allegedly grabbed and fired a police officer's revolver – the shot inadvertently nipping another officer in the ear – as she intervened in a physical confrontation between police and a local youth. Soon afterwards, a crowd convened and began marching to city hall to protest the shooting death. However, the protestors never reached their destination because police deployed teargas to stop them in their tracks. That same night, city officials reported that sniper fire and arson broke out throughout Lima, and they accused members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), an offshoot of the Black Panther Party (BPP), as the prime suspects. Using those allegations as justification, Lima police carried out a warrantless raid on the NCCF office early the next morning as the National Guard prepared to occupy the city.[1]

News of the raid and occupation reached some Ohio-based "New Afrikans" – members of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) – who were in solidarity with Panthers, several aboveground groups, and local covert paramilitary organizations. A group of eight New Afrikans mobilized immediately in an effort to help protect their comrades under attack in Lima. Eight of them were "soldiers" in the New Afrikan Security Forces, the aboveground military wing of the RNA. This contingent of six women and two men traveled from Dayton to Lima with the explicit mission to engage in a firefight with police and guardsmen.

Under the command of General Kuratibisha X Ali Rashid, the small unit entered Lima and found shelter in a house with several other groups of "soldiers" supporting the local Panthers. According to Rashid, after several wounded Panthers had been brought to the house,

the New Afrikan women decided to launch an offensive action against their enemies. The six utilized a guerilla formation taught to them by Vietcong soldiers during a military training in Canada. Two of the women took positions in front of the house and two arranged themselves in the back. Another "was in a tree or something," and the final soldier supported the others from an unspecified location. Rashid recalls that the offensive strategy worked; the guerilla-styled onslaught forced police and Guardsmen to temporarily cease their attack, and diverted their attention enough for the wounded Panthers to safely exit the house.[2]

Despite Rashid's heroic recollection of the events of August 5th 1970, the battle remains absent from Black Power history texts. Indeed, because of the clandestine nature of Rashid's group (and certainly others), the offensive was not an event of which even New Afrikans were widely aware. What is more, police and National Guard related the incident and several other violent encounters between New Afrikans and the state solely as clashes with the BPP. These lapses of recall poignantly illustrate one of the problems with researching the RNA and the movement it struggled to bring to the fore of African Americans' consciousness: silences and misunderstandings about RNA activities (i.e. lumping them and other Black activists with the BPP) and New Afrikans' self-conscious construction of their formation as a "nation," rather than an organization, relegate members and their contributions to Black Power and revolutionary politics to the shadows of African American history. I will focus primarily on the latter.

Considering the Republic of New Afrika "the <u>name</u> of [their] nation," New Afrikans framed their struggle in terms of achieving political independence and statehood. Their ranks consisted of a "Provisional Government" (PG-RNA) and "citizens," many who were also members of various Black nationalist organizations that achieved more visibility during the Black Power era and are referenced frequently in historical literature of the period.[3] Their

alleged territory consists of five southern states, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Along with the overarching goal of political independence and statehood, New Afrikans championed reparations and the ultimate overthrow of White supremacy and capitalist domination over people of color in the United States and elsewhere. In pursuit of these goals, they consciously fashioned a culture that permitted – if not demanded – movement participants to lend their lifestyles and daily activities towards such ends. New Afrikan activists developed a "New Afrikan Independence Movement" (NAIM) around their stated objectives. Although it grew directly from the efforts of the PG-RNA, the NAIM included people and organizations that were not in complete agreement with the idea of the Provisional Government and, therefore, began to pursue independence using different methods.[4]

Relatively few people are aware of the RNA's existence, and even fewer reflect on its historical and political significance. New Afrikans were (and continue to be) a relatively small group of activists who aspire to achieve goals that remain at the margins of the African American political agenda. However, during the height of the Black Power era, they boasted a significant base of support within the general U.S. Black population. A 1969 Gallup Poll indicated that 21% of its respondents agreed African Americans should live in a separate Black nation while another 10% claimed they had not yet decided. That at least one-fifth of African Americans at one point sided with the idea of an independent Black nation demands that scholars devote more study to territorial Black nationalism. However, history shows that ideological support did not automatically lead to actual participation. In fact, though the 1970 census accounted for over 20 million African Americans, at its height, the RNA reported to have the allegiance of about 5,000 active citizens (less than one percent of the African American population).[5] Despite this relatively small membership, a historical study of the RNA raises significant questions regarding

the Black Power era and the decade that followed it, including: Why did this small group of Black activists decide to struggle for political independence from the United States at the precise moment African Americans accomplished significant gains in their fight for civil rights? How did the RNA understand its place in the broader Black Power movement? By which methods did New Afrikans organize as a staunchly Black nationalist formation and as revolutionary activists in Black communities? Most importantly, in what ways did NAIM activism affect participants themselves?

By engaging these key questions, this dissertation brings to the fore an organization that allows for a critical interpretation of the Black Power era's continuities and ruptures between the 1960s and the 1980s. Because the RNA is one of the few Black Power era formations that survived the 1970s and is still in existence, my analysis of the Black Nation and NAIM offers unique insights into the evolution of Black political organizing. To be sure, racist oppression comprises the longstanding proverbial thorn in the side of African American life and history. However, resistance to that oppression has been just as persistent. I contend that RNA-NAIM history profoundly demonstrates the changes and adaptations that occurred over time in specific manifestations of oppression.

One overarching purpose of this dissertation is to analyze twentieth-century Black struggle without allowing spectacular events and iconic figures overshadow the interstitial aspects of revolutionary undertakings. These more commonplace exertions also played pivotal roles in the development of Black Power and the political organizing it engendered. My examination of the RNA's underexplored history challenges the prevailing Black Power narrative insofar as it exposes some Black revolutionaries' alternative conceptions respecting the entanglement of race, nationality, and citizenship. I also proffer a critical analysis of the

interpersonal exchanges and routine practices that constituted Black activists' struggles for political empowerment, self-determination, decolonized citizenship, territorial sovereignty, and political independence. In so doing, this dissertation argues very simply but thoroughly that revolution for New Afrikans consisted of a comprehensive process that changed activists' lives. As they evolved, many RNA activists reinterpreted their ideology and shifted their practices according to these new frames of reference. Therefore, a dialectical and reciprocal relationship subsisted between New Afrikan activists, their movement, and the impact of their revolutionary work. Through an engagement with the axiom that the personal is political, I reveal that dedicating attention to the daily practice of being a revolutionary alongside analyzing the complicated process of fighting to achieve structural and political goals, provides an important space to expand the literature on Black Power and activism in the following decade. In doing so, my research provides a more comprehensive view of Black political practices, question how scholars think about issues of culture and personal choice [6]

Using the lens of "lifestyle politics," I examine RNA citizens' daily cultural practices in order to refine our understanding of how activists more generally interpret and reproduce political ideologies in the most quotidian aspects of their lives. Political scientist W. Lance Bennett employs the term "lifestyle politics" to describe everyday practices that may have political intent as opposed to the purposeful mass organizing and civic culture activists utilized more regularly prior to the 1980s. His version of lifestyle politics outlines the various ways individuals "organize social and political meaning around their lifestyle values and the personal narratives that express them." Bennett bases his definition on American activists' major retreat from mass political organizing in the 1970s and 1980s due to state repression, globalization, and technological innovations such as the internet.[7]

In contradistinction to Bennett, I argue that New Afrikans consciously and actively rendered lifestyle politics central to their framework for understanding revolution and essential in their strategy for liberation. I define lifestyle politics as the everyday lived enactment of political ideology and the constant interpretation, contestation, negotiation, and reproduction of activists' shared ideas within both civic arenas and domains generally deemed "personal" and/or "private." I employ my delineation of lifestyle politics to help explicate New Afrikan collective identity and the group-centered nature of RNA citizens' individual choices and actions. Through the practice of lifestyle politics, New Afrikans lived their evolving interpretations of the ideologies that drove Black nationalism during the Black Power era and beyond. Those formative ideals took root in RNA activists' pursuit of self-determination in every facet of their lives, including name choices, educational endeavors, occupations, family structures, and spirituality. My elaboration of lifestyle politics also accounts for the personal ramifications wielded by the political repression with which far too many New Afrikans were intimately familiar.

My in-depth look at the personal consequences of RNA involvement also provides insights into how New Afrikan activists constructed their unique, proudly African, nationalistic, and, in many ways, revolutionary collective identity. That identity developed according to the assumption that African descended people are not citizens of the United States, because European Americans disallowed them the choice as to whether or not they desired that status. While scholarship on Civil Rights and Black Power overwhelmingly focuses on the practices of those who attempted to gain full access to the rights and privileges offered with U.S. citizenship, my study of the RNA revises and expands the accepted goals and objectives of the era.

Historiography and the Republic of New Afrika

Very few published academic texts deal exclusively with the Republic of New Afrika. As it stands, four master's theses, three books, and four articles and/or essays convey a very fundamental understanding of the RNA's goals and objectives. Of the four master's theses, two deserve mention. Rondee J. Gaines and Assata-Nicole Richards both conducted sociological studies that respectively investigate representations of the RNA in the mainstream media and provide basic demographic information about New Afrikan leaders.[8]

The three books include the RNA as part of broader studies on Black activist traditions and territorial nationalism during the Black Power era. In his *Black Activism: Racial Revolution in the United States, 1954-1970*, Robert Brisbane mentions some of the RNA's early activities, mainly as they pertain to its founding. Raymond Hall's *Black Separatism in the United States* offers little more information in its presentation of the RNA in relation to Black territorial nationalist strategies. Hall gives a brief biography of the Henry/Obadele brothers and delineates the basic tenets of their ideology. Finally, historian William L. Van Deburg's, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975* similarly uses the RNA to illustrate to readers the histories of various territorial nationalist perspectives that contributed to Black Power culture.[9]

The historical and sociological articles on the RNA provide more focused detail. Scholars Dan Berger and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz discuss the RNA and American Indian Movement as "experiments in claiming sovereignty in the 1970s," and give a brief overview of the achievements and challenges New Afrikans experienced as they worked toward their goals. More regional in scope, Sociologist Donald Cunnigen's work highlights RNA organizing in Mississippi and analyzes how New Afrikans affected Black nationalism in the south, especially amongst students. Cunnigen dedicates a large portion of his article to explaining why the RNA

did not have much of an impact on the south. Finally, in his investigation of the United States' and Michigan's covert repression of the RNA in Detroit between 1968 and 1973, Sociologist Christian Davenport lends more attention to state repression tactics than New Afrikans and their activities.[10]

Although all of the aforementioned scholars highlight important aspects of the RNA, none presents an in-depth, historically based study. Most notably, this literature fails to provide readers with a sense of the defining features that distinguish New Afrikan activists from their contemporaries, and it neglects to underscore the ways in which participation in the NAIM impacted RNA citizens' lives. Another glaring omission of this literature lies in its elision of the Provisional Government's undeniable impact on Black political activism, especially with regard to reparations organizing. The RNA's most significant contribution to Black political organizing in America has been New Afrikans' formidable role in bringing the fight for restitution to the forefront of African American political thought must be given the prominence it demands.

Given the abundance of published research on Black nationalism and the Black Freedom Movement, it is surprising that more scholars have not considered the RNA in significant detail. One reason for this neglect may relate to the Provisional Government's relative obscurity during the Black Power era. Overshadowed by groups such as the Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers – both of which sometimes shared membership and collaborated on campaigns with New Afrikans – it is likely that many people who were not deeply involved with Black liberation efforts did not become familiar with the RNA. Another reason may stem from the popularity of more pragmatic Black Power political strategies that privileged liberation struggle within United States institutions and apparatuses, such as integration and various iterations of "community nationalism." Scholarly inattentiveness may

also result from the various competing visions of African Americans who favored territorial strategies. In this regard, historian Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua suggests that the focus on emigration tends to eclipse U.S.-based territorial ideologies.[11]

Despite the general tendency to overlook territorial nationalism and the RNA, some scholars' studies of Black Power era organizations illuminate a number of the issues of concern to this dissertation. Their work begins providing some much-needed perspective on Black activists' previously disregarded daily-lived experiences. In his study of the Us Organization, Scot Brown delineates the group's structure and ideology, discusses the cadres' daily activities, explores the politics of name choices for members, and briefly mentions activists' experiences with alternative family structures. Brown demonstrates that Us' culture – its "complete value system" – was the foundation for their political activism. Likewise, Kimberly Springer's *Living for the Revolution* examines several Black feminist organizations by detailing their daily organizational activity, exploring members' individual and collective identities, and investigating how Black women's "interstitial" experiences informed their approach to activism. Finally, Robyn Ceanne Spencer's work on the Black Panther Party in Oakland draws attention to how the cadre created alternative lifestyles around "'the hard, drudgery, boring, day-to-day, no-reward, you-can't-see-the-future kind of work'" they performed.[12]

Brown, Springer, and Spencer all give necessary attention to the daily, lived experiences and practices that routinely expressed individuals' interpretations of the ideologies that served as the foundation for a plethora of wide-ranging personal and community liberation agendas. These scholars thus guide my analysis of similar issues as they pertain to the Republic of New Afrika. In focusing on RNA members' practice of lifestyle politics, I demonstrate the significance of the dialectical relationships between New Afrikans and their political ideologies. I contend that

highlighting such mundane interactions illuminates the strengths and shortcomings of the people involved in social movement activism. In other words, these commonplace interplays allow us to observe and critically analyze how New Afrikans' varying beliefs about citizenship, self-determination, reparations and other matters were shaped by and filtered through pre-existing, evolving, and sometimes dubious formulations of "nation," "revolution," "sexism," "colonization," and other concepts. The multitude of ways in which individual New Afrikans interpreted their own subject positions in relation to the surrounding world posed both advantages and limitations to their abilities to contribute to the group's goals. For example, chapter two of this dissertation makes clear that New Afrikan leaders struggled to foster spaces conducive to the equal participation of men and women at all levels of the RNA's organizational structure. However, their vision of gender equality was restricted, especially when examined retrospectively with the critical interventions made by contemporary and subsequent Black feminist and womanist critiques of U.S. society, social movements, and Black nationalism. Each chapter attempts to explore the nuances of how various New Afrikans both challenged and failed to adequately address sexism and other oppressive behaviors and institutions within their ranks.

Lifestyle politics comprises just one portion of a larger New Afrikan culture that encompasses the intellectual work of political theorists and the interpretations of that work produced by constituents; it is the dialectical process by which RNA citizens created visible and interstitial manifestations of the ideology that guided them.[13] For the New Afrikans identified in this study, RNA culture often embodied an interplay between citizens' daily negotiations of collective identity and their enactment of self-determination by striving to bring about Black liberation through the acquisition of an independent nation-state. The scholarship on life course perspectives and collective identity provides valuable frameworks for my research. However,

the insights put forth by this body of literature need to be refined with respect to Black nationalism, a subject such theories have largely neglected.

Assata-Nicole Richards's scholarship stands as an exception and it covers territory similar to that explored in my research. Using the life course framework, Richards examines the human composition of the PG-RNA and apprises how New Afrikans' participation with the Black Nation affected their lives. Richards advances life course perspectives by underscoring what New Afrikans in the PG-RNA actually did for the RNA. Unfortunately, her work is limited in two substantial ways. First, Richards does not go beyond simply stating that certain practices and ideas existed among New Afrikans. For example, she questions and estimates how many RNA activists changed their names, but does not investigate the more interesting and insightful questions of why and to what they changed them. Second, although Richards inquires whether age and gender affected if a New Afrikan changed his/her name or traveled extensively, she does not scrutinize if or how factors such as education and social class altered her subjects' activities.[14]

This dissertation builds on and expands Richards' work by posing and addressing heretofore-unanswered questions respecting the interconnectedness of New Afrikans' Black nationalist organizing and their daily lives**.** The omissions and lack of nuance in Richard's scholarship (and the literature on African American activism more broadly) provoke me to ask: What impact did New Afrikans' understanding of "New Afrikan Political Science" (NAPS), or RNA theory, have on their political praxis and performance of everyday life? How did citizens' personal and familial identities and lifestyles change through their involvement with the RNA and the NAIM? Did these alterations lead New Afrikans to raise their children in a distinct way? Did they reconceptualize or reconstitute their family structures and relationships as a result of

their participation? If so, how was the New Afrikan family structured? Why did many New Afrikans feel a need to exchange European names for Afrikan names? Did participation challenge or confirm their personal spirituality? Moreover, in what ways did NAPS challenge New Afrikans to consider where or with whom they sought employment? How did participation in the RNA affect how New Afrikans perceived their work? Can we discern whether state surveillance and repression effected how RNA citizens carried out their everyday tasks? My dissertation explores these and other questions alongside an engagement with the literature on Black liberation movement and social movement theory. I maintain that answering the above questions illuminates the ways in which lifestyle politics is indicative of people's interpretation and reproduction of ideology. Put differently, this politics demonstrates the various ways individuals and groups achieved, to some degree, the quest for self-determination that guided their strategies and tactics, goals, and organizational structure.

Methodology

The research presented here benefitted from the method Kathleen M. Blee and Verta Taylor identify as triangulation. Triangulation involves using a combination of several data-collection techniques to increase "the amount of detail about a topic and [counteract] threats to validity associated with any one of the single methods."[15] I assembled and analyzed as much of the extant documentation of the RNA I could access. Many original RNA documents, including the "Declaration of Independence" are no longer available due to repressive state actions, such as the raid on New Bethel (see chapter 2). However, newspaper coverage, essays by allies, legal briefs, FBI files, and many other sources help make up for such losses to some extent. Additionally, my consultations with former and current RNA members have proven fruitful. Nineteen people willingly shared their knowledge and experiences with me during recorded and

non-recorded conversations. Participating in two New Afrikan Nation Days, a tribute to Dr. Imari Obadele shortly before his death, and other events also permitted me to access valuable information and more effectively synthesize it.

Although some of my research methods were informed by immersion journalism (a deeply personal interview process) and may appear as ethnographic, I mainly followed traditional historical methods to unearth information on the RNA. I carried out archival research for primary documents at several different locations. Wayne State University's (WSU) Ernest C. Smith and the Chris and Marty Alston collections contain correspondence, organizational documents, and ephemera from the RNA. From WSU's library, I gathered informative resources including the periodicals *Detroit News*, *Detroit Free Press*, and *Michigan Chronicle*. Also, I obtained source materials from the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) in Jackson, Mississippi which possesses a collection of RNA material, including local periodicals and RNA documents. I also accessed police and FBI data via the MDAH's Mississippi Sovereignty Committee collection, which is available online. The microfilm collection, *The Black Power Movement*, contains documents connected with people relevant to this dissertation such as Robert F. Williams, the Obadeles, and Queen Mother Moore, among others. The materials in this collection furnished me with invaluable minor details necessary to sketch the broader context in which my dissertation is situated.

Additionally, I conducted nineteen oral interviews with fourteen men and five women. These conversations provided insights into New Afrikans' lifestyle politics that could not be found in the aforementioned written resources. Partially informed by Leon Dash's immersion journalism technique, I used semi-structured interviewing in order to get as in-depth an interview as possible in the brief interactions I had with the New Afrikans identified in this study. Dash's

method involves rigorous interviewing that first makes interviewees comfortable before asking questions specific to the research topic. His approach also allows the researcher to get a better sense of the interviewees' personal lives, and encourages interviewers to place subjects in the context of their own life history. As outlined by Dash, the process typically requires several conversations with each participant.[16] I had to modify the technique in order to conduct in-depth interviews in much less time, typically one two-hour conversation. When time permitted, I interviewed a person more than once, an opportunity that only occurred with Chokwe Lumumba, Sekou Owusu, Brother_D.B. Nubyahn, General Kuratibisha Ali X Rashid, and Richard Bokeba Trice. I ordered my questions in a manner that I believe helped each interviewee become comfortable with the conversation before getting into specific details about her or his involvement with the RNA and other Black liberation movement groups.

When in conversation with each participant, I was mindful of Rhonda Y. Williams' interviewing technique of taking into account the interviewees' "Voice." Williams insists that scholars must embrace different types of articulation: the utterances as well as non-vocal expression such as gesticulating body or a silent moment," which "render Voice inherently performative – not only because spoken and unspoken acts are performed by the body, but because the act of articulation occurs on a public stage." Simply put, "The stories are told with intent and purpose."[17] Both Dash's and Williams's techniques privilege in-person interviews, which are beneficial because they provide significantly more opportunities for the researcher and interviewees to develop personal relationships and trust. Once the researcher gains their trust and respect, interviewees open up more to provide useful information and help connect the interviewer with other potential interviewees.

Of the nineteen people I interviewed, only four were women. Although I heard about several women who were critical in the RNA's founding and development between the 1960s and 1980s, it was much more difficult to find information about them and get them to dialogue with me. At the close of each interview I conducted, I requested leads for more New Afrikans whom I could interview. In many situations, I asked specifically for women, but the respondents expressed difficulty in thinking of women who would speak with me in detail. Two women whom I met at RNA functions went so far as to suggest that I speak with "the brothers" instead of them. There was also one woman who refused to speak with me because she did not have fond memories of her participation due to the sexism she experienced. Although some RNA members are critiquing sexism within their ranks, phallocentrism continues to affect who gets to tell their stories and how those stories are told. The lack of New Afrikan women actively involved in my research resulted in this dissertation's lack of depth regarding the personal experiences of RNA participants of varying gendered positions.

Chapter Outline

RNA and NAIM history evolved simultaneously with that of the PG-RNA in several distinct stages. The first stage began around 1967 when the Obadeles began to openly advocate Black independence through the Malcolm X Society. It continued with the founding of the Provisional Government and lasted until early 1970 when the Obadeles' split – known by many as the "1st Constitutional Crisis" – resulted in "Brother Imari," as he was called, becoming the Black Government's recognized leader. The second phase lasted from 1970-1978. During those years, New Afrikans and their critics engaged in serious dialogue that resulted in the creation of new organizations and gave rise to the NAIM as it is now understood by New Afrikans. This era included the 1971 shootout in Jackson, Mississippi between New Afrikans and law enforcement,

and citizens' production of documents that are now the foundation of New Afrikan independence theory. However, during this time key leaders in the PG-RNA and other New Afrikan formations began disagreeing about the movement's direction and the wisdom of using a provisional government to organize. When ideological conflict peaked, it shaped a third distinct era from 1978 to 1983. This "2nd Constitutional Crisis" forced the factions involved to seriously reconsider the best path for organizing the independence movement. They developed a solution that allowed each opposing camp to work together outside of the PG structure. With that truce in place, New Afrikans in the PG and in various New Afrikan organizations helped cohere disparate strains of African American political thought into a viable reparations movement in 1989. The building and cohesion of the reparations movement ushered in a new era that continues to the present.

This dissertation covers RNA history in five thematic chapters. Chapter two, "The Fruition of Black Power," introduces the Republic of New Afrika as a product of Black struggle in Detroit. It provides an overview of early RNA activities in order to determine why Black nationalists came together in Detroit with the intention of creating the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. These activists sought independence from the United States rather than reform or revolution within the U.S. body politic. This agenda distinguished the RNA from many of the Black Power organizations active during the 1960s and 1970s. In elaborating the RNA's distinct objectives, chapter two positions New Afrikan revolutionaries as critical agents in the trajectory of Black political struggle because of their influence in reparations organizing. Additionally, chapter two describes and analyzes impactful events in early RNA history, including the 1969 shootout at New Bethel Baptist Church and the "first Constitutional Crisis" that drove a wedge between numerous PG-RNA founders.

Chapter three, "No Longer Deaf, Dumb, or Blind," highlights the foundational documents and ideas that became codified as "New Afrikan Political Science." My close reading of the RNA's "Declaration of Independence," New Afrikan Creed, and other ideological texts seeks to delineate how New Afrikans' goals and objectives differed from those of their Black Power era counterparts. At the same time, my analysis of these documents also illustrates the consistencies between territorial nationalism and the broader ambitions pursued by African people in the United States due to the conditions under which they ended up in the country. In drawing attention to these parallels, this chapter discusses and critiques the concept of citizenship, its formulation among New Afrikans, and its centrality to RNA organizing. I also scrutinize New Afrikans' strategies and tactics and their successes and failures in achieving political independence and territorial sovereignty. Ultimately, chapter three creates the basic frame that guides my discussion of the remaining chapters' main topic: lifestyle politics.

The fourth chapter, "Evolutionary Onomastics," utilizes literature from the field of onomastics (or name studies) to elaborate in more detail the ideas presented in chapter three regarding New Afrikans' exercise of self-determination in the hegemonic situations they experienced. Though they have yet to achieve political independence and territorial autonomy, RNA citizens have used nomenclature to begin the total process of liberating themselves from U.S. political and cultural domination. Many RNA activists acquired "Afrikan names" that signified specific ideas about the bearer's gender, sexuality, and purpose. While many New Afrikans chose to take on "Afrikan names," several decided to maintain their "slave names." Chapter four explores the various reasons New Afrikans posited for changing or maintaining their appellations. It also examines the group name "New Afrikan," and RNA place names and orthography. The overarching objective of chapter four is to draw attention to some of the

quotidian methods New Afrikans employed to liberate themselves in the interstitial spaces of the struggle against U.S. political and cultural hegemony.

"Revolutionary Lifestyle" (chapter five) considers numerous aspects of New Afrikans' personal lives as they meshed with participation in NAIM. It begins with an overview and critique of the sociological literature concerned with life course perspectives and raises new questions about the impact of social movements on activists. The questions asked and addressed in chapter five intend to illuminate the various methods by which New Afrikans exercised self-determination in their daily lives. The New Afrikans featured in this chapter provide, in their own words, the factors that compelled them to become activists, especially their experiences with education, family, religious upbringing, and political awareness and activism before they became New Afrikan revolutionaries. Interviewees describe their entry into social movement activism, relate their introduction to and involvement with the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and recall the impact activism has had on their lives.

The sixth chapter, "'Cointel's Got Blacks in Hell,'" approaches the biographical/life-course impact of activism from the angle of state repression. Characterizing U.S.-New Afrikan interactions as warfare, I include in the narrative of repression the psychological impact such warfare had on New Afrikans. These psychological consequences are important because they remind us that political radicals are human beings, and they help us better understand the potential obstacles activists' experience. In fact, because one aim of government repression is to create fear and discord amongst targets, I examine some of the more well-known events in New Afrikan history in order to understand the full extent of the U.S. government's illegal activities and the complications such actions posed for New Afrikans and the NAIM. To be sure, many of those targeted with repressive action experienced profound alterations to their entire lives. Still,

the story of government repression is not solely about narrating its creation of victims. Therefore, this chapter underscores New Afrikans' agency and humanity by critically analyzing their responses to repression and outlining the personal tolls suppression exacted from them. Several scholars outline governmental repression through programs such as COINTELPRO and Black Power activists' resistance to state sabotage.[18] This chapter expands that conversation by including New Afrikans whose participation with the Afrikan Peoples Party, Black Liberation Army, PG-RNA, and many other radical formations and organizations earned them a place on FBI Most Wanted lists and on the roll calls of political prisoners (PP) and – as New Afrikans argued – "prisoners of war" (POW).[19] Several other RNA activists lost their lives due to COINTELPRO schemes and antics such as assassination.

Thus far, almost all of the literature that evaluates the U.S. government's repression of Black Power activists centers on the Black Panther Party (BPP) and its members to the exclusion of other individuals and formations. Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall claimed that "the most vicious and unrestrained application of COINTELPRO techniques during the late 1960s and early 1970s was clearly reserved for" the BPP.[20] Some reasons for Black Panthers' treatment may include the size of the organization as well as its ability reach across space and race to a broad base of sympathizers. However, because most repressive action was not always spectacular or presumed to be headline-worthy, it is worthwhile to investigate the ways government repression manifests among smaller – though still quite influential – groups of activists. Including New Afrikans in this important discussion reveals that government repression was not limited to Black Power organizations that amassed large memberships and plenty of media attention. Rather, the United States government also targeted anyone whose ideas and/or actions went against the grain of American ideology.

The conclusion to this dissertation raises remaining questions about New Afrikans in the RNA and other formations that I intend to explore in future research. In carrying out research for this dissertation, I made several discoveries that I would like to investigate in greater depth. First, I learned that the Provisional Government is but one entity among several others seeking New Afrikan independence. Since 1968, organizations such as the Islamic Republic of New Afrika, the New Afrikan Peoples Organization, and the Afrikan Peoples Party have all advocated for this cause. Second, I observed that many New Afrikan revolutionaries have been incarcerated or exiled abroad and continued to organize from prison or their host countries. My future research will interrogate how incarceration or exile changed RNA activists' political viewpoints and strategies for organization. Finally, New Afrikans played an essential role in bringing about the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA). Though my dissertation makes mention of reparations and N'COBRA, I hope to give them more focused attention in future projects.

Notes on Language and Spelling

I would like to briefly make note of four issues concerning specific language and spellings used throughout this dissertation. First, the Republic of New Afrika is technically the "captive" territory in the U.S. South that belongs to African-descended people in the United States. Scholars use "RNA" loosely to refer to the organized body of people who worked to "Free the Land," as their slogan claims. In this dissertation, I refer to those people as New Afrikans, the Black Government, and/or the Provisional Government. Interestingly, the proper noun spelling of "Provisional Government" did not seem to gain popular use until the early 1970s though the PG-RNA came into existence during the National Black Government Conference of 1968. Instead, "Black Government," "government-in-captivity," and the

common-noun "provisional government" litter documentation from the RNA's early history. Second, RNA documentation contends that all African-descended people born in the United States are New Afrikans. However, I only use the term "New Afrikan(s)" to refer to "conscious citizens" of the RNA. All other people of African descent in the United States are designated as "Black" or "African American." Third, the Black Legion became the New Afrikan Legion following the Obadele brothers' split. However, New Afrikans continue to call their army the "Black Legion" or "Legion." Therefore, I maintain the original designation throughout this dissertation. Finally, after introducing people using both their European and, where applicable, "Afrikan" names, I often refer to them by their Afrikan names and periodically utilize their preferred titles, including "Brother," "Sister," "Mama," and "Baba," to provide readers with a feel for the language and culture that New Afrikans and many other Black nationalists have been creating since the 1960s.

Like name designations, name spelling is also important. The Provisional Government decided in the early 1970s to spell Afrika with a 'k' rather than a 'c' because RNA citizens believe this orthography is more consistent with translations of African languages. For coherence, and because this has been their preferred spelling for most of their existence, I use the 'k' spelling to refer to the PG-RNA and New Afrikans prior to the actual spelling change, except when quoting texts that utilize the letter 'c.'

Chapter 2 – "The Fruition of Black Power"[21]: A Historical Overview of the RNA

On March 29, 1969, New Afrikans assembled at the Detroit church of Reverend C.L. Franklin (father of "Queen of Soul," Aretha Franklin) during a weekend-long celebration of the RNA's first anniversary. Active in grassroots organizing, Reverend Franklin at times worked on similar civil rights campaigns as two RNA co-founders, Milton and Richard Henry, including the 1963 "Freedom March" at which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave a speech that utilized his famous "I have a dream" sequence. Even though Reverend Franklin never claimed to support the creation of an independent, all-Black nation, he sometimes rented his church for Black political activities.[22]

As the day's festivities were coming to a close, between forty and fifty police officers "shot their way into" New Bethel Baptist Church, training their weapons on the 200 or so attending men, women, and children, "a man with a rifle at the center of the altar," and someone shooting from "'a two-by-two trap door in the ceiling.'" This police invasion came moments after officers Michael Czapski and Richard Worobec observed armed guards from the Black Legion (the RNA military) outside the church. Newspaper accounts claimed the guards shot the two officers – one fatally – as Czapski and Worobec approached the Black Legion to question them. Detroit police suggested the armed Legionnaires then ran into New Bethel, still shooting, as more officers arrived to rescue the dying Czapski and wounded Worobec. The onslaught left four attendees wounded and resulted in 143 arrests. Local Black judge George Crockett released most of the arrestees the following morning.[23]

The New Bethel incident and its immediate aftermath drew national attention and sensationalistic media coverage to the year-old Provisional Government (PG-RNA). It seemed

to confirm fears that Black Power was indeed going after Anglo-America's "mama," as former SNCC member Julius Lester quipped.[24] For some White Detroiters, the gun battle evidenced another violent clash between "Black militants" and the police, and provided one more justification of their flight from the inner city to guarded homes in the suburbs. Additionally, in an atmosphere in which police-community relations already were tense, the New Bethel incident further strained those relations. For New Afrikans, the events of March 29th served as a reminder that the U.S. government would use any necessary means to prevent RNA activists from bringing their version of Black Power to fruition via New Afrikan independence. Many New Afrikans also understood it as the first battle in what promised to be a long war for self-determination.

This chapter introduces the PG-RNA and the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) spawned by the PG-RNA and later also shaped by New Afrikans from other formations. I begin with a brief overview of Detroit's legacy of Black struggle in order to contextualize the RNA as one of the important developments that grew out of this hub of Black political activism during the 1960s. The overview describes why activists created the PG-RNA and pursued the goal of independent statehood. In sketching the sociohistorical context, I highlight the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) and the Malcolm X Society (the Malcolmites), which were immediate precursors to the RNA. I also introduce Gaidi and Imari Obadele (also known as Milton and Richard Henry, respectively), two key organizers of the National Black Government Conference that birthed the PG-RNA. Following the background summary, I delineate the history of the PG-RNA from its founding until the late-1980s. During that period, the PG-RNA survived two major splits, two well-known shootouts, and other forms of overt and covert repression. This era also witnessed profound shifts in America's political atmosphere that ended

Black Power and ushered in a new, more conservative sociopolitical juncture. During this moment of transformation, New Afrikans put forth a plan for reparations and spearheaded the formation of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), one of their most significant contributions to African American political organizing to date. In depicting RNA history in broad strokes, this chapter provides an outline of the historical shifts in RNA organizing and prepares readers for a deeper exploration into the RNA's "New Afrikan Political Science" and the various ways participation in the NAIM impacted activists' lives.

Black Struggle in Detroit and the Pre-History of the RNA

Detroit's history is characterized by migration, the growth of one of the world's major industrial centers, racial conflict, and Black liberation struggle. From the 1880s through the Second World War, the opening of new industries in Detroit prompted a migration that dramatically changed the city's population size and demographic make-up. Detroit's renown as the "Motor City" beckoned immigrants from all over the world, and their residency, in turn, helped the city become the fourth largest in the United States by 1920. In one period of tremendous growth between 1910 and 1920, Black migrants increased the city's African American population by 611.3%. This dramatic increase partially resulted from the expansion of the auto industry and the "relaxation" of employment segregation. Detroit met steady streams of Black migrants originating from almost every state in the Deep South and several northern Atlantic states. With World War I and the anti-immigrant legislation that followed, Black migrants found unprecedented success in Detroit's labor market. Despite new work opportunities and growth in the African American population, Black Detroiters had not overcome many of the major racial obstacles that characterized their quest for employment and decent housing in the wartime era and its aftermath. Companies hired Black job seekers out of

desperation and fired them at a whim, and tensions between Black workers and their White peers often led to violence.[25]

In their search for economic security, some African Americans began joining and organizing within labor unions such as the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Black Union participation gained momentum during the 1930s following President Franklin D. Roosevelt's National Labor Relations Act, which gave more flexibility to workers trying to collectively organize for their rights. Although many Black workers were initially skeptical of unions, talented organizers in Detroit managed to recruit enough of them to give Black laborers some presence and power.[26]

Notwithstanding these opportunities in industrial workspaces, factors such as restrictive covenants, discriminatory loan practices, racialized violence, and "blockbusting" kept Black Detroiters tightly packed in the city's East Side. When African Americans like Ossian Sweet moved into White neighborhoods, they were greeted with resistance and violence. Sweet was a gynecologist who moved into a segregated neighborhood in September 1925. Anticipating a hostile welcome into his new home, Sweet arrived with several guns, ammunition, and food. As he expected, a group of White Detroiters gathered outside of his home and at one point surrounded and threatened Sweet's brother and a friend. During this moment unrest, someone fired a weapon from Sweet's house, killing a White man who was standing on a porch across the street. Arrested and charged with murder, Sweet and ten others were acquitted by an all-White jury. The historic victory encouraged some African American to continue pushing to live where they pleased and to remain resolute in their right to enjoy all aspects of life. Despite – or perhaps partially due to – Black Detroiters' ambitions, building tensions erupted into anti-Black violence during the race riot of 1943, the worst disturbance the U.S. had seen to date.[27]

Black men's endeavors to secure job and housing opportunities comprised significant segments of a much broader range of activities undertaken by African Americans in Detroit to obtain equality. Throughout the 1940s, African American women also fought for economic security, demanded equal access to public accommodations, hosted voter registration drives, and contested police brutality, among other activities. For example, the Detroit Association of Women's Clubs sponsored "voters institutes" to educate its members about the voting process, pressing social issues, and political candidates. They involved the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), United Auto Workers (UAW), the Detroit Commission on Community Relations (DCCR), and other national and local organizations in their often-successful enterprises.[28]

Even as they, and Detroit's largest civil rights organizations, the NAACP and the Detroit Urban League, fought for improvements in the Black community, Henry Ford began implementing a progressive business strategy, and the UAW and other unions became more open to promoting civil rights. Although these efforts did not bring an end to racism in Detroit, by the 1950s, the city's African Americans achieved more economic and political power than ever before. Together, the various factors prompted some to revere Detroit as a "Model City" and "one of the major centers of black progress." As historians August Meier and Elliot Rudwick point out, "this [progress] came at the very time that the multiplying NAACP legal victories and the dramatic rise of Martin Luther King to public prominence signified a revolution of expectations that was spawning a new militancy among black Americans." This new mode of struggle that favored direct confrontation instituted a new era in Black activism.[29]

These shifts in direction and strategy caught the attention of the 41st, 42nd, and 43rd governors of Michigan, G. Mennen Williams, John B. Swainson, and George Romney,

respectively, who each "played important leadership roles in furthering the civil rights cause." During the years marking their tenures (1948 through 1969), they gave state-funded efforts unprecedented power to investigate and address violations of their constituents' civil rights, thus making the state one of the most racially progressive in the nation. In Detroit, this racial progressivism manifested through the Civil Rights Commission's involvement with housing and employment discrimination and police brutality. Yet, as historian Sidney Fine rightly claims, though the Michigan governors, particularly Romney, deserve some credit for their willingness to use their executive powers toward towards the advancement of Black civic equality, it was the national civil rights movement that determined Detroit activists' successes.[30] Where the governors and civil rights activists failed, discrimination and racial violence persisted. Those oppressive tendencies influenced how Black political organizations in Detroit evolved during the 1950s and 1960s.

One organization that attempted to create a more equitable Detroit was the Trade Union Leadership Council (TULC), created in 1957 with the help of Horace Sheffield, an international representative for the UAW, "to upgrade the status of blacks in the plants and unions of the Motor City."[31] The TULC made visible the rifts in the "liberal-labor coalition, which had grown out of the Black-union alliance during and after World War II." The coalition included the NAACP, Detroit Urban League, UAW, Jewish Community Council, various Black churches, the Civil Rights Commission, and the ACLU, among other formations. The TULC fought racism within labor unions and staged frontal attacks on restaurants, skating rinks, bars, and many other accommodations and recreational facilities, all while providing financial support to the southern movement. The council also supported the election of racial liberal Jerome Cavanaugh as mayor

in 1962. In many ways, the undertakings of TULC proved to be a liberal dress rehearsal for the activism staged by groups that directly precipitated the RNA.[32]

One such group was the Freedom Now Party (FNP), an all-Black political party founded by journalist William Worthy and others just before the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Party organizers sought to make the FNP national, but gained momentum primarily in Michigan.[33] Although there is not yet a comprehensive study of the FNP, historians Angela Dillard, Peniel E. Joseph, and Suzanne E. Smith consider the Party's place in Detroit history. Grace Lee and James Boggs, Reverend Albert B. Cleage, and several other activists helped create the Detroit FNP directly following the 1963 Grassroots Leadership Conference at which Malcolm X delivered his speech "Message to the Grassroots." They sought to make the FNP a recognizable force in Detroit city and Michigan state politics. With the hopes to transform U.S. party politics, several fairly well-known Black Detroiters ran for local and state offices, including Milton Henry for congress, radical lawyer Christopher Alston for senate, and Reverend Cleage for governor. With the interracial support of the Socialist Workers Party, the membership of the Group On Advanced Leadership (GOAL) and Uhuru (a militant Black student group whose leadership would later play instrumental roles in the creation of the Revolutionary Union Movements), it seemed the FNP would achieve its desired results. However, disappointment reigned as the primary victor when all FNP candidates lost their respective elections. The party quickly declined thereafter, but was succeeded by the Revolutionary Union Movements (RUMs), the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (the League), the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), the Black Panther Party (BPP), the Malcolm X Party, and the PG-RNA.[34]

The League was a coalition of RUMs that formed at various auto-manufacturing plants (e.g. Dodge or DRUM and Ford or FRUM) and sought to organize Black workers as the revolutionary vanguard of the United States. The League's ideology fused activists' understanding of the capitalist exploitation of workers with theories concerning the racial exploitation of the "Black colony" in the United States. League members argued that if Black workers could take control over the means of production, these laborers would provide leadership to oppressed groups and eventually create a society free of racial, economic, and gender oppression. The League also anticipated that revolutionaries in the United States would aid similar movements against imperialism abroad. What is more, leaders from the League were central participants in the National Black Economic Development Conference. Resolutions from the BEDC allowed the League to secure funds for the creation of the Black Star Book line of press, publications, film productions, and a bookstore. They also made a movie, Finally Got the News, which documented League history. Although the League and the RNA disagreed on the issue of reparations, both formations had a generally amicable relationship and even worked together on activities related to Robert F. Williams.[35]

RAM was a revolutionary organization created by Cleveland schoolteacher Donald Freeman and Maxwell Stanford, Jr., a student activist from Philadelphia. It had a national, largely underground membership and boasted the support of Malcolm X and Robert F. Williams. Stanford (later known as Muhammad Ahmad) established a RAM group in Detroit in 1963 and maintained close relationships with many prominent and unknown Detroiters, including the Henry brothers. Though details of RAM's history in Detroit are still largely a mystery, Ahmad (Stanford) has made it clear that the organization held a consistent presence in Detroit between 1963 until they dissolved in 1968.[36]

As concerns the Detroit BPP, members of the League attempted to organize the local chapter in hopes of attracting young activists and pushing the national BPP away from an ideology that envisioned the lumpen proletariat as the vanguard of Black revolutionary struggle. However, the branch of the Detroit BPP founded by Ron Scott and Eric Bell about one year after RAM's demise earned recognition by the national party's central committee. Historian Ahmad A. Rahman provides an overview of the Detroit branch's efforts as advanced by the National Committee to Combat Fascism, a BPP front group that in Detroit even invited White radical groups to participate. More importantly, the Panther's established an underground membership in Detroit that established a close relationship with the RNA's army the Black Legion.[37]

Another important element of Detroit's Black political scene was the Nation of Islam (NOI), which was born in Detroit during the 1930s and slowly grew into a recognizable force in Black politics over the next two decades. Besides promoting Black nationalism and spreading its brand of Islam amongst African Americans, the Nation was responsible for one of African Americans' most celebrated icons, Malcolm X. The NOI provided Malcolm Little with the basic spiritual and cultural tools he needed to transform himself from a street hustler to Minister Malcolm X, and later El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. He underwent his initial training in Detroit where he made several memorable appearances. The NOI, through Minister Malcolm, had a tremendous influence on the two brothers from Philadelphia who helped shape the changing goals and strategies of Black revolutionary activism in Detroit, most notably through founding the RNA.[38]

The elder brother, known then as Milton Henry, moved from Philadelphia to the "Model City" in 1950 because it was one of the few cities in the United States where he could utilize his legal practice explicitly for the benefit of African Americans. In 1952, his younger brother

Richard joined him and they worked together in several civil rights organizations. In November 1961, the Henrys, Reverend Cleage, and other militant civil rights activists created GOAL, a civil rights group that sought to introduce what Richard Henry called "'a new dimension in the fight against bias.'" Then GOAL chairperson, Richard added that the NAACP and other organizations "'can at times benefit from outside help in accomplishing their goals faster.'" Although GOAL began with a stated purpose of assisting groups like the NAACP achieve their goals, the organization quickly distinguished itself when some of its members began "Re-Thinking Integration," considering it "almost as dangerous as it is desirable." With a said membership roster of 750 names, GOAL championed a "catalytic" method of activism that included using boycotts and legal battles to achieve the goals of getting African people's contributions to history added to public school textbooks and ceasing urban renewal projects (or "Negro Removal" according to some GOAL members). Members even helped sponsor and win a campaign to demand that White merchants carry a Black-owned company's barbecue sauce.[39] Many of these reform-oriented activities built on the momentum of GOAL's predecessors such as the TULC.

Over the years, GOAL developed an inclination toward leftist thinking and militant activities. It was involved in study groups and actions against police brutality with the members of Uhuru, RAM, and the Boggses.[40] On occasion, Milton gave talks at the Friday Night Socialist Forum hosted by the Social Workers Party, and he held a leadership position within RAM. RAM and GOAL members co-founded and participated in self-defense groups, the Medgar Evers Rifle Club and the Fox and Wolf Hunt Club. The latter was likely named in recognition of Malcolm X's December 4, 1963 characterization of White liberals as foxes and White Conservatives as wolves. Learning from the example set by the Deacons for Self Defense and

Justice, Richard Henry argued that he and others formed the clubs to deter potential violent attacks on African American activists in their city. It is likely that they were also training for guerilla warfare. With these associations and the lessons they learned from years of struggle, the Henry's began to advocate for a separate nation as a viable solution to African Americans' problems.[41]

Taking their cue from Brother Imari, William Van Deburg and Raymond L. Hall credit Malcolm X/Malik Shabazz with pushing the Henry brothers to accept territorial Black nationalism as the most practical option for liberation. Milton met and developed a relationship with the Minister, and the Henry brothers sponsored through GOAL three lectures for the minister when he visited the "Model City." In addition to his "Message to the Grassroots," Malcolm X delivered "The Ballot or the Bullet" and his posthumously titled "Last Message" in Detroit. After Shabazz's death, Milton and Richard changed their names to Gaidi and Imari Obadele respectively, and they created the Malcolm X Society in order to work toward what they identified as Minister Shabazz's unmet goals. The Obadeles believed the minister's primary concern was to create a sovereign Black nation that would help Third World revolutionaries destroy global oppression.[42]

Even though Malcolm X was essential to the Henry's political development, the brothers' life experiences in Philadelphia and almost two decades spent in Detroit wielded as much an impact on their political perspectives. Milton was a WWII veteran and a pilot whose refusal to accept racial discrimination led to his dishonorable discharge from the military as well as his inability to practice law in Pennsylvania. As a youth, Richard, who viewed his older brother as a hero, was an activist with the NAACP and a journalist who used his talents to challenge racism. Also worthy of recognition are the siblings' organizing experiences in Detroit with groups and

individuals who, as early as December 1961, had begun "Re-Thinking Integration." The Obadeles' associations with Reverend Cleage, the Boggses, RAM, Uhuru, and others who formed DRUM and the League should not be minimized. Indeed, the brothers' decision to work with these groups and individuals, as opposed to the NAACP or the TULC – organizations they deemed peopled with "uncle toms" – reflects the lessons they learned from their experiences struggling for freedom under from U.S. sovereignty.

By the time they met Minister Malcolm, the Obadeles' experiences already rendered them receptive to his message. For Milton in particular, travelling in Ghana confirmed the importance of attaining political and physical independence as a basis of power. He was inspired by seeing Kwame Nkrumah and other African "[g]uys [he]'d gone to school with at Lincoln… in their offices making decisions" that affected their country. On the other hand, as the only Black member of the Pontiac City Commission, Milton became discouraged because he was not able to make decisions he believed would benefit African Americans. This inability confirmed his conviction that African Americans would never gain the power necessary to satisfactorily change the U.S. according to their needs. In light of these events and influences, I contend that rather than single out Malcolm X as the primary reason the Henrys marched leftward to "Revolution and Nation Building," we should situate the martyred minister's influence within the broader context of their personal experiences working to improve conditions for Black Detroiters.[43]

By 1964, the Obadeles had evolved into territorial nationalists. When they created the Malcolm X Society in 1967, they initially saw it as an apparatus to "work within [the] governmental framework and state structure of the United States, winning black people, first in Mississippi, to the cause of independent land and power, follow[ed]... with election victories (the sheriffs' offices, particularly) within the U.S. federal system, and, finally, tak[ing] the black state

out of the U.S. federal union at the moment when white power could no longer be successfully resisted or neutralized in its efforts to prevent the creation of a new society in the black state."[44] The Malcolm X Society's aspirations were made evident through its calls for Black people to secure control over their own communities in the aftermath of the 1967 rebellion.[45]

Numerous studies analyze the "civil disorder," considered by many the worst urban rebellion of the 1960s; therefore, I will not recount its details.[46] However, the 1967 Detroit uprising deserves brief mention here because of its importance to the Obadeles and the PG-RNA. The Malcolmites, like most other political organizations, attempted to use the insurgency and the widespread fear of violence it spawned to leverage their demands as they organized shortly thereafter. They claimed to represent "the political side of the Black Revolution" and insisted they could manage street revolutionaries if the city and state governments met their demands for community control. Apparently, the FBI and local police took such assertions seriously enough to increase their surveillance of the Obadeles immediately following the insurgence.[47] The rebellion, Malcolmites' demands, and the local police and U.S. government's increasing surveillance of "Black Hate Groups" all comprised the specific context in which the Obadeles organized the National Black Government Conference. This conference led to the formation of the PG-RNA and establishment of the NAIM. The events of 1967 also signify the definite bookend of the political organizing strategies the brothers and their allies favored during much of the 1960s. Following the establishment of the PG-RNA, the Malcolmites changed their strategy to include gaining African Americans' consent to create a separate nation through diplomatic and, if necessary, military means.[48]

To summarize, Detroit's history of Black struggle precipitated the National Black Government Conference that occasioned the PG-RNA and the NAIM. The Henry/Obadele

brothers' experiences there led them to seek independence in the specific form of territorial sovereignty as the solution to African Americans' problems. The city earned a reputation for Black nationalism and political militancy largely due to the work of GOAL and the Malcolmites, as well as the presence of the NOI, the Revolutionary Union Movements, Uhuru, RAM, and many other groups and organizations.

An awareness of this part of Detroit's history makes it possible to begin understanding why it served as an ideal site for the National Black Government Conference and the founding of the PG-RNA. The Obadeles, like many other Black Detroiters, learned through years of experience that they could not rely solely on traditional means of political organizing to reach their goals. The violence and discrimination that peppered African American life in the "Model City" justified militant forms of Black nationalism and revolutionary organization. Those experiences were not lost on the Obadeles whose efforts consisted of the only attempt during the Black Power era to attain an independent Black Nation. The next section of this chapter provides an overview of the RNA's establishment and its strategy for New Afrikan independence. It also outlines the reasons Brother Imari eventually moved the RNA headquarters to Jackson, Mississippi without the support of Brother Gaidi and many other prominent New Afrikans.

The Black Government Conference and the Creation of the PG-RNA

New Afrikans argue that the NAIM is the broad-based struggle whose distinguishing objectives include constituting an independent Black nation-state in the black belt region of the United States and winning reparations. According to former PG-RNA official Chokwe Lumumba, the roots of the Black independence movement go back to the mid-seventeenth century when European settlers began racializing enslaved Africans with legislation that

naturalized matrilineal bondage. He indicates that the enslaved often liberated themselves and attempted to create their own maroon communities – at times with indigenous nations – outside of the European slave system.[49] According to Lumumba, the foundation of this longstanding movement grew stronger when Black emigrationists in the United States such as Paul Cuffe, Henry Highland Garnett, and Martin Delaney sought land in Africa and elsewhere. The crusade continued in the twentieth century with Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which took up the call "Africa for Africans." That same era marked the inauguration of the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB), which supported the institution of an independent Black state in the southern portion of the U.S. The ABB influenced the Communist Party (CP) to accept and promote the idea of Black sovereignty, a maneuver that increased the CP's Black support tremendously. Lumumba claims the CP eventually dropped the idea and thus lost much of its Black backing. However, several former Black Communists and Garveyites, including Queen Mother Audley Moore, continued promoting territorial autonomy independently and through the NOI. In fact, Lumumba and Muhammad Ahmad (Maxwell Stanford) both credit Queen Mother Moore for influencing Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad to take up the struggle for independent land.[50]

Malcolm X and Queen Mother Moore were largely responsible for making the notion of an independent Black nation palatable to the activists who founded the PG-RNA. Taking up and revising the black belt nation argument, the Malcolmites sought to "liberate" five southern states – Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. They claimed the South comprised the region where the majority of enslaved Africans and their descendants resided. Further, as enslaved laborers and then sharecroppers, Africans built on and tilled the earth in those states, thus helping Anglo Americans prosper. Therefore, according to the Malcolmites,

the five aforementioned states were the literal embodiment of African Americans' historical "homeland" in the United States. The Malcolmites presented these and other ideas at the National Black Government Conference held in Detroit March 30-31, 1968.[51]

The Obadeles and the Malcolm X Society were not alone in these efforts. A variety of middle and working class individuals, paramilitary organizations, socialists, former SNCC and Organization of Afro-American Unity activists, Black Panthers, Pan-Africanists, and non-affiliated Black Power advocates who participated in the national Black Power Conferences in 1966 and 1967 attended the 1968 Detroit conference. Lumumba states, "The fact that most prominent cultural and revolutionary nationalists of the period at least lent their name to the effort was indicative of the high regard which existed for the founding of the New Afrikan Independence Movement throughout the New Afrikan nation and within grass roots New Afrikan communities." Among these well-known supporters were Queen Mother Moore, the Us Organization's Maulana Karenga, Malcolm's widow Betty Shabazz, famous playwright and poet Amiri Baraka, John Bracey of RAM, and several other Black nationalists, including some who held high rank within the original governmental structure of the RNA.[52]

Conference participants dedicated both days of their meetings to discussing and resolving issues respecting citizenship, national sovereignty, taxes, and governmental functioning, opening diplomatic relations with other nations and the U.N., and "Achieving Status for Black Guerillas Under the Geneva Convention," in addition to ratifying a declaration of independence. Brother Gaidi invited "Three categories of persons" to the conference: "(1) Participants, who are Black nationalists ready now for separation, (2) Observers, black people who are genuinely interested in separation as a possible solution to our problems in America, and (3) Technical Advisors."[53] The last group of invitees included "black people, whether nationalists or not, who have

something to offer the new government and its founding efforts: such as lawyers, scientists, economists and industrialists." The conversations held during the conference demonstrated such people's importance. Many of the discussions centered on international human rights law, reparations, women's equal participation, and military strategy – or some combination or derivative of them. An example is participants' agreement that conscious New Afrikans who might be captured by the U.S. police or other law enforcement and/or armed agencies when carrying out the military work of the Provisional Government, should receive Prisoner of War status. Attendees concluded that POW status should not be dependent on an actual "declaration of war against the U.S. (and [they] recommend[ed] no declaration of war)" so that "members of [Black revolutionary] military forces would have rights under the Geneva Convention."[54]

The second day of the conference, participants spent a considerable amount of time discussing and signing the "Declaration of Independence of the Black Nation." Rejecting U.S. citizenship and demanding restitution for Africans' forced migration and enslavement, the document connected the struggle of African-descended people in the U.S. with a global effort "to destroy this oppression wherever it assaults mankind in the world." The Declaration promoted a "New Society" and a "New State Government" that would assure individual and collective human rights and which renounced discrimination or persecution for one's religious beliefs, race, color, and sex. Pledging to pursue these ideals "without reservation," Queen Mother Moore signed first, marking the founding of the Provisional Government and the NAIM. At a rally later that day, conference participant Raymond Willis announced that the new nation would be called the "Republic of New Afrika," as opposed to the originally proposed name, the "Songhay Republic."[55]

RNA Strategy

The PG-RNA designated itself as the leadership of the "captive Black nation" in the U.S. The original government structure consisted of executive, judicial, and legislative branches. The executive branch included a president, first and second vice presidents, several regional vice presidents, a treasurer, and ministers of diverse functions. At the RNA's founding, participants elected exiled former Monroe, North Carolina NAACP president and RAM chairman Robert F. Williams as President; Brother Gaidi as First Vice President; Sister Betty Shabazz as Second Vice President; and Brother Imari, a chief theoretician, as Minister of Information. Following the New Bethel shootout of March 29th 1969, the PG-RNA dropped the positions of first and second vice presidents and replaced them with four regional vice presidents whose primary task was to help the president carry out his or her duties of defending the "captive" Black nation and securing reparations and sovereign territory.[56]

The PG-RNA's first step in achieving their goals was to open negotiations between the U.S. and the Black Government. Brother Imari attempted to initiate this process in May 1968 when he delivered a message requesting a diplomatic conversation with then Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Vice President Gaidi Obadele signed the request as "Milton Henry" in lieu of Robert Williams who was living in exile to avoid legal troubles from his 1961 kidnapping charges. Requesting diplomatic negotiations with the United States immediately after the RNA's founding proved important because the PG-RNA needed to demonstrate to conscious New Afrikans and potential "citizens of record" that the Black Government was serious about achieving physical separation and political independence. This appeal to conduct negotiations also rendered the RNA compliant with the various steps necessary to take its struggle for independence to the United Nations. Furthermore, the PG-RNA understood that the U.S. government would not willingly open discussions to hand over ten percent of the nation's land

resources. Thus, the anticipated response to the letter would serve as more proof to African Americans that they could not rely on the U.S. government for liberation. Liberation was something for Black people to take on their own terms. This necessary confiscation justified the creation of "a strong, disciplined Black Legion in America --- a black army to fight for black rights."[57]

Brother Imari provided an overview of the Black Government's total agenda to achieve political independence, territorial sovereignty, and reparations in a speech called, "The Eight Strategic Elements Necessary for Success of the Black Nation in America." He characterized the first three elements as "the nation's wealth": natural resources, a labor force, and "the genius that our people possess," each of which would allow the burgeoning nation to develop the skills necessary to make the nation strong. The fourth aspect was "a limited objective": the acquisition of five states. Brother Imari naively expected a relatively smooth turnover of the five states because they encompassed the poorest and contained the largest concentrations of African Americans. Therefore, he justified, the U.S. government would not find the domain desirable and would not try too hard to keep it once "giving up something [became] inevitable" for the United States.[58]

The fifth factor, "internal domestic support," helps explain why the PG-RNA sought to establish consulates in several major cities across the United States. Officers of the PG-RNA reasoned that maintaining a presence in cities where African Americans held "positions as Congressmen, judges, and other officials," would enable them to develop relationships with Black people who could "be used to stay the hand of the United States in its efforts at repression of New Africa's campaign for liberation." Further, Black communities could use their collective resources to achieve control over local schools and other institutions that brought African

Americans into close contact with one another and the bureaucratic state apparatus. Representing a departure from other Black Power-era liberation efforts, "community control" was not an end in itself for the RNA, but part of a larger procedure to gain land and power. RNA leadership anticipated that influential allies throughout northern cities would lend useful bargaining tools in the Black Nation's negotiations with the U.S. government for New Afrika's independence. RNA officers expected to trade on the social and political capital wielded by Black controlled northern cities and people for land in the south and presumed that RNA-controlled southern land would serve as the foundation of their Black nation.[59]

Gaining international allies comprised the sixth necessary strategic element. The PG-RNA began meeting with representatives from several potential ally nations and groups including the USSR, Tanzania, and Sudan. New Afrikan leadership also hoped to gain the support of the United Nations as they demanded reparations for the human rights violations committed by the United States against enslaved Africans and their progeny. Brother Imari later claimed he initiated deals with China and these negotiations seemed to be going well until the PG-RNA ran into complications in their relationship with Robert Williams.[60]

With such ambitious goals, RNA leaders did not disregard potential repression; in fact, they expected violence from the U.S. government and racist vigilante organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. Therefore, the final two essential components pinpointed by Brother Imari addressed the RNA's military strategy, which he divided into three levels of participation: the above ground army, the Black Legion (later named the New Afrikan Security Forces); Third World military support; and the so-called "second strike" capability of underground urban guerillas. Brother Imari argued that the combination of these varying levels of military strength

would be threatening enough to prevent possible violent confrontation and/or preserve the fledgling nation in potential battle.[61]

This broad outline of the PG-RNA's tactics provokes questions about the specific programs the Detroit consulate contributed. Detroit police and FBI documentation reveal that the Detroit delegation planned to implement several programs aimed at "uplifting the deaf, dumb, and blind." First and most important was their political education, "nation-building" classes. Held at their office on Puritan Street, New Afrikans met regularly with new recruits to prepare them for RNA citizenship. They also wanted to create all-Black schools modeled after Ocean Hill-Brownsville in Brooklyn, an institution whose struggles for community control Brother Imari participated in and tried to get the Black Government to support. The Detroit consulate ran the Frederick Douglas [sic] Shooting Club, which served primarily as a recruiting tool for the Black Legion. The club encouraged interested persons to frequent its daily meetings, which included nation-building classes taught by Brother Imari. The RNA also conducted conversations about running free food and clothing programs to address some of the immediate material needs of Black Detroiters, but there is no evidence to suggest that these ideas ever materialized. Finally, New Afrikans initiated a "Freedom Petition" in April 1969 that sought to "place police, central banking and industrial development under a black City Council and create [an] all-powerful black school board and a black court system in the black community." The League of Revolutionary Black Workers and Eastside Voice of Independent Detroit helped circulate the petition, yet it is unlikely that the petition gained widespread endorsement. Further, it is difficult to ascertain which programs the RNA actually carried to fruition, and what efforts survived in Detroit following the RNA's split and the relocation of its headquarters from Detroit to Jackson, Mississippi.[62]

Obstacles: Robert F. Williams and the RNA's First Constitutional Crisis

Another important task undertaken by New Afrikans was to communicate in person with their exiled president-elect Robert Williams and devise a strategy to bring him home. The Obadele brothers carried out the first part of this mission in early June 1968 when they took a seven-day trip to Tanzania, where Williams and his family relocated from China. Many of the meeting's specific details remain unclear, but Williams did "signal some agreement" with being elected RNA President. Williams likely came to this decision due to Brother Gaidi's promise the PG-RNA would help him return to the United States and "keep him on the streets for at least two years." Gaidi and Imari Obadele believed that if Williams "were on the streets for two years [New Afrikans] could build a movement so strong that nobody could touch him and the movement would be a power." Firm in this belief, Brother Gaidi became one of Williams' key legal representatives as the exiled activist negotiated the conditions of his return home with the U.S. government. Meanwhile, the Obadeles expected Williams to secure diplomatic relations between the RNA, China, and anti-colonial Africans. In fact, he was reported to have a close friendship with Abdul Rahman Muhammad Babu, one of Tanzania's governmental officials. The PG-RNA delegation reported that the trip also brought them into contact with Tsepo Tiisetso Letlaka, an exiled South African and member of the Pan African Congress.[63]

Despite these highlights, the Obadeles' trip marked a major obstacle in their mission to liberate their burgeoning nation. This roadblock also constituted the first of many problems they would have in the near future concerning issues of loyalty and trust. Brother Imari reported that Williams expressed reluctance to accept the presidency of the RNA, and instead exhibited a preoccupation with receiving money to build a hospital in Tanzania and returning safely to the U.S. to face the kidnapping charges. Informants for the Detroit police and federal government

claimed the Obadeles shared this and other discouraging news at a meeting with RNA leadership. These disclosures suggested that Williams' intentions did not correspond with New Afrikans' desires. The leadership decided not to reveal those complications to the general citizenship for fear that such news would jeopardize their movement.[64] Eventually, however, issues surrounding Williams caused the PG-RNA some public distress.

In the meantime, at Williams' suggestion, Brother Imari began a petition drive to notify the U.S. government and the UN that New Afrikans gave the PG-RNA their consent to enter negotiations for reparations and the independence of their nation. He soon reported to Williams that several PG-RNA representatives attended a medical conference in Boston "and won a resolution of support from [some] doctors indicating their willingness to provide medicines and certain equipment to Tanzania." Brother Imari also mentioned to Williams growing support for the RNA from advocates who in 1968 attended the Third Annual Black Power Conference in Philadelphia as well as nationalist-minded students from various colleges and universities across the United States. The 1968 Black Power conference and a student conference at Howard University both passed resolutions recognizing the Provisional Government and pledging to establish consulates at Black colleges as well as white colleges with Black student caucuses. These students' purpose was to "organize to advance the fight for land and power." Finally, Brother Imari notified Williams that a conscious citizen in Atlanta donated over 100 acres of land to the RNA. Brother Imari claimed the PG-RNA considered making the southern city the RNA's capitol. They also planned to use another plot of land they were purchasing in Mississippi to establish a library, infirmary, and community house. According to Brother Imari, Williams never acknowledged having received word of these updates. In fact, once back in the United States, Brother Imari maintained that Brother Rob did not want any information regarding

the RNA's plans and insisted his unawareness would help him "say truthfully that he didn't know anything" during his Senate testimony.[65]

The 1969 New Bethel incident proved another major impediment in the PG-RNA's path as it hindered their progress in many ways. During the weekend of their first anniversary conference, New Afrikans convened at New Bethel Baptist Church in Detroit "to discuss: A secessionist vote being conducted in New York's troubled Ocean Hill-Brownsville district." In regards to the vote, RNA citizens "hoped-for negotiations with the U.S. State Department, and other ambitious plans." After this discussion and subsequent festivities, Brother Gaidi gave the closing address then left New Bethel with several Legionnaires who escorted him to his car. Just seconds after he drove off, the powder charge that fueled the shootout between Legionnaires and police became volatile. Characterized by historian Ahmad Rahman as a tension-filled display of manhood that was bound to explode, the Legion's first shootout with Detroit police exacted innumerable long-term repercussions for the RNA's nation-building process. Arrested attendees complained that the police stole over "$800 in cash and bus and airline tickets" and tortured several Legionnaires, including Brother Imari's son and namesake. The RNA also lost some of its priceless, original documents, including a signed constitution. Among the arrestees were Clarence "Chaka" Fuller and Rafael Rivera, both of whom the city of Detroit eventually tried for second-degree murder and assault with intent to kill. Both were acquitted, but Brother Chaka soon thereafter met his death in a stabbing incident that his sister and the RNA's Detroit consulate claimed was police retaliation for the fatality of Officer Czapski.[66]

Given the violently repressive atmosphere in which Black activists from all political persuasions operated, it is somewhat difficult to imagine the full impact of the New Bethel shootout on potential RNA supporters and the Detroit consulate. For many people who learned

about the shootout, it may have been just another battle between the police and Black "radicals." On the other hand, the news of a slain police officer may have attracted some African American adventurists who were tired of police brutality and wanted to participate in such gun battles for retaliation. It is also reasonable to assume that the battle repelled people otherwise drawn to the idea of a Black nation. In fact, one New Afrikan stated that the shootout scared people who were selling land to the Provisional Government.[67] By March 1969, Black Power activists had lost (or rejected) many of their few White supporters. With rare exceptions, Black nationalists depended solely on African American support and Black activists experienced severe fragmentation among their ranks, despite their utilization of Black Power conferences to unify with one another. What is more, in an era when the most visible ideological thrust advocated working within the U.S. political system for Black liberation, the New Bethel shootout may have done more to justify that approach than to encourage African Americans to struggle for political and physical independence. However, like the BPP, the RNA gained some allies who believed the police provoked violent exchanges in order to justify their repression of Black nationalists and revolutionaries. Within the PG-RNA, the shootout proved to Brother Gaidi and his supporters that a calculated educational organizing process in the north was the safest way to bring about their desired results. Because he considered the RNA to be at war, Brother Imari believed the RNA's best move was to head south and begin building their nation. Disagreement over this relocation soon caused the Black Government to implode.[68]

In September 1969, RNA President Robert F. Williams made his triumphant return to the United States after eight years of exile. Brother Gaidi arranged for his arrival in Detroit where New Afrikans built enough legal, military, and political support to ensure his safety. Still, Williams' arrival provoked a lot of confusion. First, authorities in London, England briefly

detained Williams and refused to permit him to board any aircraft for fear that he would hijack it. Because they considered him "dangerous cargo," the British Home Office instead offered him passage by ship. As several British Black Power advocates demonstrated outside of Pentonville Prison**,** the facility that detained Williams for a couple days**,** Brother Gaidi negotiated with British officials. After much bargaining, it finally seemed the PG-RNA president-elect was making his way home. Meanwhile in Detroit, Legionnaires and police made their way to the airport to meet the exiled activist upon noticing that a man with the surname Williams would soon land in the city. However, the RNA president-elect was not on the expected flight. In his stead, and quite by accident, a "neatly dressed English businessman" named Edward Williams met the confused police and Legionnaires. When the correct Williams finally arrived at the Metropolitan Airport on September 12, 1969, members of the Black Legion, FBI agents, and local police welcomed him. High tensions between U.S. armed forces and the Legion notwithstanding, no violence erupted. After being detained briefly, Williams walked the Detroit streets on bail.[69]

Many New Afrikans expected William's highly anticipated homecoming to reenergize the territorial nationalist movement. It instead presented yet another hindrance for the PG-RNA. Williams' return occasioned the eruption of internal conflicts that had been brewing for over a year. For one, Brother Imari gained a reputation as a suicidal militant and an impulsive authoritarian whose ideas clashed with those of the other leadership. Further, it was rumored that several people did not trust some RNA leadership, including Chokwe Lumumba, because he and others were suspected FBI informants.[70] Police provocateurs and informants played no small role in creating and exacerbating that distrust. They doctored counterfeit letters from "Concerned Brothers" and drafted fake correspondences from Brother Imari to members of the

Detroit BPP with whom local New Afrikans enjoyed cordial relationships. By November 1969, informants contended that the Detroit Consulate was "falling apart." Brother Imari and other leaders constantly requested money from New Afrikans and Black United Front members with whom they had formed an alliance to protect Williams. This money was to go to Williams' defense fund and to assist less fortunate New Afrikans and members of the local community. To make matters worse, funds allocated to purchase land in Mississippi disappeared, thus causing further disharmony within the RNA.[71]

The collective damage done by these and other factors proved irreparable by November 1969 when Brother Imari resigned from his positions as Minister of Interior and Midwest Regional Vice President. During that same month, Brother Rob stepped down from the presidency. Brother Imari charged that Williams and Brother Gaidi violated RNA law by unilaterally making important decisions, including their suspension of Brother Imari for allegedly withholding membership information from Gaidi and threatening to start his own organization. In light of these allegations and his suspension, Brother Imari abdicated his posts in protest. Shortly thereafter, Williams told the Detroit News that he was more interested in taking care of his legal problems and fighting for integration than building an independent Black nation. He did allege, however, that if White America refused to allow African Americans to actualize their self-determination, he would again support the creation of a separate Black nation. Interestingly, one of the resigned president's associates from the RAM insisted Williams left because he knew the ranks of the Black Government were heavily infiltrated.[72]

During that same moment, the long-percolating ideological and strategic conflicts between Brothers Gaidi and Imari bubbled to the surface in what Brother Imari described as a "family squabble" of little consequence to the RNA. But the dispute's roots lay partially in very

important strategic disagreements that profoundly affected the Provisional Government and its supporters. On one side, Brother Imari and his supporters favored moving RNA headquarters to Mississippi in order to implement their nation-building process within the "captive" homeland. On the other side, Brother Gaidi and several others argued that RNA headquarters should remain in Detroit and New Afrikan leadership should focus on deliberate organizing and legal strategies. The former faction seemed determined to present a direct challenge to the U.S. in a manner that would bring about unavoidable violent confrontation more quickly. The latter camp's approach appeared safer; it would mitigate any further violence between the RNA's military and local authorities.[73] The *Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press* publicized this conflict, thus preventing the brothers and their respective supporters from hiding their rifts.

Still, there was more to the conflict than what the Obadele brothers stated in public. The RNA was also undergoing what some refer to as its first "Constitutional Crisis." Since the 1968 Black Government Conference, the Provisional Government had yet to ratify a constitution. Instead, the RNA's governing body based its decisions and actions on original documents such as the New Afrikan "Declaration of Independence" and the Government Administration handbook. An established constitutional commission was not able to approve a constitution by December 1, 1969.[74] Divided by strategy, the Obadeles proposed two different courses of action to rectify the crisis. Brother Gaidi argued for an open election of PG officers during a convention in January while Brother Imari recommended that regional representatives carry out PG elections**,** a measure he believed ensured all New Afrikans a voice. The acting judges in this dispute decided that if forty percent of the general population could attend a meeting to cast their votes then Brother Gaidi's suggestion would win. Gaidi rejected the ruling.[75]

On January 1, the Black government's authority lost its legal basis due to the PG's expired "terms of office." In his stated attempt to carry out already planned business, Brother Imari hosted a RNA constitutional convention in Detroit January 23-24. About thirty New Afrikans attended as representatives "from seven or eight cities" and they elected interim officers to serve for three months. Brother Gaidi, Queen Mother Moore, and eight other officials in the PG-RNA boycotted the meeting and planned a convention for July. Others, including Chokwe Lumumba, a respected Detroit elder, Anwar Pasha (also known as Henry "Papa" Wells), and several members of the Black Legion, attempted to give support to both factions as they sought to bring unity back to the Black Nation. Despite those attempts, by July, Brother Gaidi, Sister Betty Shabazz, and several other leaders resigned from their positions, giving Brother Imari and his newly assembled governing body complete control over the RNA.[76] Brother Gaidi, still "absolutely a political separatist" by his own admission, moved to a Detroit suburb to enjoy a break from the movement. With his newly attained power, RNA president Imari Obadele moved the organization's headquarters south, first to New Orleans in May 1970. In March 1971, New Afrikans moved the RNA headquarters to Mississippi. During a land dedication ceremony, they declared El Malik – in Bolton – the capitol. With between 3,000 and 5,000 estimated citizens of record, the Black Nation's move south marked a new chapter in RNA and NAIM history.[77]

Intense national organizing, ideological struggle, and difficulty with government infiltration characterized the first two years of the PG-RNA's existence. In that period, New Afrikans made national headlines due to the audacity of their goals and because of their violent interactions with police. Also during that time, they experienced forceful growing pains as a result of their divergent views regarding the issue of independence and territorial sovereignty for African people in the United States. Those growing pains did not ease up with the PG-RNA's

strategic move to the south. Instead, New Afrikans encountered a new series of challenges that determined the course of their organizing for over a decade.

Incarceration, Contention, and Coherence

The early 1970s marked an important decade in the political evolution of Black Power ideologies. Urban rebellion subsided as Black elected officials became mayors and congresspersons, and held many other positions previously unavailable to them due to de jure (and de facto) racism. Further, activists incorporated the "Black Power" slogan into everything from hair products to urban development programs, and even Nixon-sanctioned Black city development. African Americans from across the political spectrum strove to develop strategies to make the most of this relatively liberal political environment. They devised plans through institutional formations (such as the Congressional Black Caucus), several Black Power conferences and, the Gary Convention of 1972. Political science scholar Cedric Johnson describes these political moves as the shift from progressive grassroots activism to elitist, stagnated, institutional political participation.[78] In contrast to the either/or changeover outlined by Johnson, during the early 1970s, the PG-RNA and others that championed the NAIM focused on grassroots organizing and cadre development, as well as establishing the PG as an electorally based state institution.

Having established their governmental headquarters in the south, New Afrikans began to execute their strategy for political independence. In the process, they were involved in another shootout with police and the FBI, this time in Jackson, Mississippi (see chapter 6). The aftermath of that shootout devastated their plans. Whereas the PG-RNA previously focused its energy on organizing New Communities and recruiting and developing new cadre, following the shootout, they allocated a tremendous amount of money and energy into defending the "RNA-

11," the alleged participants in the shootout, including Brother Imari**,** in their various court cases. The deposed President Imari Obadele and Midwest Regional/1st Vice President Hekima Ana lost their legal authority according to the Code of Umoja, thereby giving power to Alajo Adegbalola, Dara Abubakari, and Chokwe Lumumba.

According to Brother Chokwe, Adegbalola trained the aforementioned younger New Afrikan leaders in order to build up cadre and instill discipline amongst RNA constituents. He stated, "That was the group that really began the work to free the land." They planned and implemented a course of action that involved moving people to the south and raising money for "new communities" with the hopes of developing the new nation around those communities. Under those auspices, they also generated enthusiasm for the 1975 general Black Elections aimed at simultaneously educating Black people about the New Afrikan Independence Movement and creating a people's government to help lead them to liberation. Although considered a success by RNA leaders, the 1975 elections constituted the moment during which many of the young organizers developed their critique of the PG-RNA. They learned several lessons about organizing based on their experiences with the election.[79]

In particular, the younger contingent questioned the timeliness of the Provisional Government apparatus. After studying the Palestinian and Vietnamese struggles, they decided that a provisional government would be most effective after the masses of Black people acquired education about the need for independence and after a revolutionary organization helped bring coherence to the resistance that would develop out of that need. Their experiences during the 1975 elections also convinced many organizers that having a provisional government was premature because the NAIM had not yet developed any broadly recognizable leadership. When organizers canvassed for the elections, people typically voted for whomever the New Afrikan

canvasser presented. For that reason, PG activists concluded that voters did not have any strong political connection with the election or the people for whom they voted.[80]

Alongside this lack of connection, elected officials neglected to show up to meetings or assume responsibility for the positions to which voters elected them. Brother Chokwe and others attributed this problem partially to a lack of discipline, which Alajo Adegbalola endeavored to foster amongst much of the cadre. But practical obstacles also factored into this seeming dereliction of duty. The RNA organized its leadership nationally and regionally, thereby making it difficult for elected officials to participate in meetings. In other words, attending an important meeting in Philadelphia might be impossible for a People's Center Council (PCC) member living in California, especially since the PG-RNA lacked funds to provide travel stipends to help its people assemble.[81]

Such problems caused many within the PG-RNA to question their methods for obtaining New Afrikan liberation. After much critical dialogue, Brother Chokwe proposed changes to the RNA constitution, which gained the consent of the PCC, the top decision-making body of the RNA. As a result of their experiences since the 1971 shoot-out, the PG-RNA decided almost unanimously that the concept of the provisional government needed to undergo some significant rethinking. New Afrikans were not alone in their reasoning; the Afrikan People's Party, the House of Umoja, and many other Black liberation veterans and neophytes agreed after the 1975 elections that the NAIM needed a strong revolutionary political party or formation to organize at the grassroots level for New Afrikan independence. Beginning in 1978, the RNA began to talk seriously about the possible changes. Led by Chokwe Lumumba, Dara Abubakari, and Ahmed Obafemi, this group of New Afrikans earned the enmity of Brother Imari who was serving time on a federal sentence stemming from the Jackson shootout.[82]

Largely from prison and with the indispensable help of Nkechi Taifa, Brotha Imari assembled a group of New Afrikans in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia under the banner of the "Malcolm X Party." This party accused the Lumumba-Abubakari "faction" of planning a seditious "counter-revolution" that must be stopped, beginning with Brother Imari's decision to remove Brother Chokwe from his office of "Acting President." Next, the Malcolm X Party held a national Black election in Washington, D.C. by soliciting votes "mainly at black meetings… and in several prisons." The Association of Black Psychologists counted and verified the votes that the PCC then disavowed. According to Brother Imari, the PCC agreed "to pursue, in 1979, the sterile (based on past experience) goals of (a) building cadre and (b) a human rights campaign. Worse, the August 1978 PCC voted to amend the constitution in such a way as to wipe out the popular basis of the Provisional Government, and it voted to conduct an election on these amendments in a manner which [was] clearly unconstitutional." The tension between the Malcolm X Party and the "Lumumba-Abubakari tendency" led to the second Constitutional Crisis.[83]

The second "Constitutional Crisis," like the first, split New Afrikans and led to what scholar Gary King considers political "taunting." In other words, both sides of the split posed questions about the validity of the other's stance and actions. Each camp alleged that the other carried on in discordance with the Code of Umoja and acted out of their desires for personal gain to the detriment of the revolutionary principle. After about fives years of ideological struggle, the Malcolm X Party and the Lumumba-Abubakari group – both asserting their legitimacy as the PG-RNA – agreed to form a temporary coalition government that allowed officers from both sides to hold equal status in the Provisional Government. The coalition appointed Imari Obadele and Dara Abubakari as temporary "co-presidents" until the election of 1984.[84]

Many within the Lumumba-Abubakari group opted not to run for office within the PG-RNA as they believed their continued presence would prolong disharmony and ultimately render the PG ineffective. Instead, they formed the New Afrikan Peoples Organization (NAPO), a revolutionary party that worked toward the goals the RNA formulated after the 1975 election. Since its inception in 1984, NAPO considered itself the sister organization to the PG-RNA, and focused on building cadre at the grassroots level.[85]

The ideological battles of the 1970s proved significant to the development of the NAIM for at least three reasons. First, they indicate that in the process of trying to obtain independence, New Afrikans activists cultivated new theories and arguments in order to identify the best methods to proceed based on their experiences with organizing and repression. As they struggled with their ideas, the movement grew beyond the Provisional Government to include grassroots organizing that sought to prepare people for political struggle around the notion of New Afrikan independence. While the PG-RNA seemed to evolve into a constituency-based formation in harmony with the general course of Black Power organizing, NAPO and other NAIM groups continued to engage in forms of grassroots organizing that waned among other Black political formations in the closing moments of the 1970s. Second, because various blocs within the NAIM emphasized different aspects of the independence struggle, they created space for the involvement of new activists opposed to practices based a provisional government. Third, in the midst of conflict and resolution, people affiliated with the New Afrikan cause took up the fight for reparations. The RNA's blueprint for African American's attainment of reparations constituted New Afrikans' most significant contribution to Black political activism in the United States."

"Make our Exit-Us…": Citizenship, Reparations, & Self Determination

In poetic verse, Brother Imari's son – Imari Obadele, 2 – highlighted some of the major emphases of the reparations argument put forth by the PG. He wrote:

Seems to me there's a master plan
To keep me from getting some land.
That would be alright,
If i was white,
And it was me that was dealing this hand.
But the fact of the matter,
Is things getting sadder,
And it seems We're out of time.
You pay the other nations,
Their reparations,
But seems you dont [sic] wanna pay me mine.
So dig, white man,
I've got a plan,
And i'm sure you'll find it cool…
Pay me…. Dont [sic] delay me….
And quit tryin to slay me.
Just give me my forty acres and my mule.
Now some folks will say that i shouldn't be paid,
Just cause my folks were slaves…
But, it's about more than that,
It's about war acts,
That are committee [sic] on Us every day.
So, may the Most High bless Us,
Whom We ask to peacefully let Us,
Make our Exit-Us… And be blessed with
Reparations Yes[86]

In his poem, Obadele 2 cogently outlines many of the arguments that advocates for African American reparations advance in scholarly articles, books, and anthologies. The first line indicts the author's muse – in this case, the "white man" (avatar of the United States of America) – for conspiring to prevent New Afrikans from acquiring the five-state territory they claimed as theirs in 1968. The poem proceeds by drawing attention to the various reparations payments the United States issued to other nations that appealed for the redress of past wrongs committed against them. Obadele, 2 questions the validity of anti-reparations arguments built on the devaluation of racial slavery's effects on both the enslaved and their descendants. He argues that

enslavement involved more than forced labor; rather, the institution and its aftermath constituted "war acts" committed against the enslaved and their descendants. Instead of advocating an in-kind response to those war acts, Obadele, 2 pleas to the Most High (his god) to enable New Afrikans' peaceful exercise of their self-determination as a nation supported with the financial restitution owed by the United States for its transgressions against them.

From its inception, the PG-RNA included the acquisition of reparations as part of its design for liberation. Collectively, New Afrikan leaders drafted a formal demand for reparations in their "Declaration of Independence" of 1968. In the statement, New Afrikan founders announce the Black Nation's independence from the United States and stipulate the "right to damages, reparations, due us for the grievous injustices sustained by our ancestors and ourselves" as the first item on their list of demands. Placing the provision for reparations second in order on the document – just after the actual declaration – was important, because this placement evidenced the authors' desire to frame reparations as essential to New Afrikans' ability to exercise self-determination.

Neither the RNA's argument for territorial sovereignty, nor its demand for reparations, constituted new political tactics; both of these approaches preceded the RNA insofar as people such as organizations like the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association and the National Industrial Council and National Liberty Party, and individuals including W.E.B. DuBois and Queen Mother Moore advocated for them. Moore and her Reparations Committee for United States Slaves' Descendants, Inc. comprised direct forerunners of the RNA. The Reparations Committee demanded restitution for the United States' genocide against African Americans. Its members sought reparations in the form of a monetary payment in order to "rehabilitate and [alleviate] the national poverty which the American citizens of African descent

suffer as a result of chattel slavery." The committee also called for "preferential treatment" in job training and hiring to help elevate people "commonly known as Negroes" to economic parity with their Anglo counterparts. Moore's council also proposed an acceptable, though less desirable, alternative to "disfranchise white citizens, deprive them of their citizenship rights, deprive them of their education . . . or generally reduce them to the level of the Negro masses to equalize [American] citizenship."[87]

Another reparations effort worth mentioning came from the African Descendants Nationalist Independence Partition Party (AD-NIP) whose members declared their independence from the United States in 1962, established a provisional government, and demanded reparations from the U.S. government in the amount of "nineteen (19) of the fifty (50) states" and "five hundred trillion dollars." The party explained: "This reparations payment is for the four hundred and fifty (450) years of enslavement of the African Descendants and their ancestors."[88] In reviewing the AD-NIP's declaration and the language used to issue the party's demands, it comes as no surprise that Queen Mother Audley Moore served as AD-NIP's Minister of Foreign Relations.

It is not my intent to analyze in-depth the history of Black people's enterprises to procure reparations from the United States government. I only intend to acknowledge the foundation on which the RNA built its reparations platform. Scholarly literature on reparations is saturated with examples of African people demanding restitution for slavery and other unjust acts committed against them at the hands of United States citizens with the blessings of state and federal governments.[89] This scholarship clarifies that the RNA was not the first group to call for reparations. However, I would like to underscore the fact that the Black Government Conference and the formation of the RNA brought together a number of Black nationalist forces, many of

which participated in struggles for reparations, or demanded compensation absent a specific plan to obtain it. Therefore, what is significant is the RNA's pivotal role in helping cohere various efforts for African American reparations into a solid movement.

Since the 1968 Black Government Conference, the RNA has worked hard to research and make the case for reparations. In 1972, the RNA released its "Anti-Depression Program," a plan designed "To End Poverty, Dependence, Cultural Malnutrition, and Crime" and to "Promote Inter-Racial Peace." Specifically, the program posits three legislative requests and delineates how their fulfillment would help solve some of U.S. society's problems. The requests are as follows:

I. An Act authorizing the peaceful cession of land and sovereignty to the Republic of New Africa in areas where blacks vote for independence.

II. An Act authorizing payment of three hundred billion dollars ($300,000,000,000) in reparations for slavery and unjust war against the black nation to the Republic of New Africa.

III. An Act authorizing negotiations between a commission of the United States and a Commission of the Republic of New Africa to determine kind, dates, and other details of paying reparations.[90]

The drafters of these acts were convinced that, if carried out, these measures would solve the overwhelming majority of problems the authors identified, namely un- and underemployment, economic and political dependence, poverty, inadequate health, subpar education, poor self-esteem, and unhealthy social relationships amongst Black people and between them and others, especially White Americans. The program's drafters establish an intimate connection between these problems and the Black Nation's colonial relationship with the United States. Therefore, the authors contend addressing these issues by enacting the "Anti-Depression Program's" three juridical proposals would result in the "removal of the [United Stands] hands" from Black people's self-determination. In underscoring the necessity of abolishing white interference, the

plan's composers divulge, "And this may be, for whites, the most difficult part. Whites, so used to us as 'our Negroes,' must remove their hands from our culture, our economies, our schools, our government, our persons."[91] By calling for a "removal of hands," the architects of this program reinforce their previous calls for independence as the solution to Black people's problems while simultaneously attempting to hold White Americans responsible for their infractions against the U.S. Black population.

Over the next four years, the RNA created several sub-programs aimed at gaining reparations and self-determination. Brother Imari subsumed these programs under a major campaign called the "People's Revolt." Interestingly, Brother Imari designed the "People's Revolt" as a major part of his campaign for re-election as RNA president. Along with his vocal demands for reparations, the standing president organized his bid for re-election around liberating the RNA-11 and other political prisoners and prisoners of war. Significantly, the concurrent operation of these and other efforts under one platform often drew the participation and/or endorsement of high-profile Black nationalists such a Louis Farrakhan, professors like Derrick Bell, politicians, playwrights, poets, and political radicals who eventually became influential in other political formations (Sonia Sanchez, Amiri Baraka, and Dick Gregory, to name a few).

Aside from the RNA's efforts there were people like three-time national co-chair of National Coalition of Black for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), Dorothy Lewis, whose writing and activism around reparations have reached the consciousness of many people presently involved with the movement for African American reparations. The influence of the RNA and its allies on Lewis is clear when she writes:

> Would reparations require an amendment to the U.S. Constitution? No, it would simply require putting the Thirteenth Amendment into effect… Although the Thirteenth

> Amendment set no restrictions on the freedom of former slaves, the Fourteenth Amendment, passed several years later, robbed freed slaves of some of their hard won freedom. Citizenship was imposed upon them without their consent, without a vote, without any discussion of political alternatives.[92]

In the above quote, readers can discern a common refrain put forth by the RNA, namely that the U.S. government imposed citizenship on enslaved Africans and their descendants. Although Lewis questions the validity of African people's citizenship in the United States, she stops short of calling for New Afrikan independence. Instead, she emphasizes that a reparations settlement should not replace any of the citizenship rights that African Americans deserved. According to Lewis, "An African born in America is entitled to the same benefits of citizenship as any other first generation or tenth generation American is entitled to." However, she does acknowledge African Americans' rights to exercise their self-determination by deciding whether they want to remain U.S. citizens or take their consent elsewhere. One might infer that these political alternatives to U.S. citizenship included an independent Black nation-state.[93]

Not everyone who acknowledged the problems with Black citizenship in the United States called for a plebiscite. In some cases, Black activists staged large gatherings in order to educate Black people about the need for reparations and to bring various interested parties together under a coalition. In 1982, Lewis and others held an International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the United States in Washington, D.C. New Afrikans and the African Peoples Socialist Party supported and participated in this event. The tribunal also led to the creation of the African National Reparations Organization (ANRO), which then sponsored another Tribunal in November 1984.[94]

More significant to understanding the RNA's influence on the current movement for African American reparations is the history of N'COBRA. Called for in 1987, N'COBRA was formed in 1989 by Brother Imari, Chokwe Lumumba, Nkechi Taifa, and many other conscious

New Afrikans, and most of these activists held high-ranking positions in the organization. Even though scholars and activists fail to recognize the RNA for its role in helping bring about the current struggle for reparations, Brother Imari's death on January 18, 2010 brought him such acknowledgements. Obituaries in various newspapers ordain him the "Father of Reparations" and mention his role in the process.[95]

Very little academic scholarship about reparations mentions the Republic of New Afrika's Black Power-era dedication to securing reparations for Black folks. That which does fails to engage readers in any through discussion or analysis of the RNA, or even James Forman's "Black Economic Development Conference" and his work for the Southern Black Land Bank.[96] What is more, academic literature associated with Black Power Studies barely mentions reparations, except when listing the goals of certain Black Power-era organizations. Hopefully, as scholars continue researching and writing about the RNA and other NAIM efforts, they will scrutinize Black Power-era activists' fights for reparations as they continue investigating new topics and organizations of that moment.

Conclusion

This chapter's overview of the RNA's formation provides the context needed to evaluate the impact of NAIM participation on New Afrikans. The RNA developed in the midst of the great political upheaval of the 1960s, and especially grew from a legacy of Black political activism in Detroit. The contrast between the relative liberalism of white elected officials in Detroit and the city's anti-black police, citizenry, and policies taught many African American activists that they could not achieve their goals within the existing political system. Rather, many Black Detroiters concluded they could eradicate oppression only by revolutionary means. The 1967 Detroit rebellion and its aftermath crystallized those sentiments. Yet, Black activists

remained divided on the exact revolution they should wage. Among the various options, the Obadele brothers projected the most vocal advocacy for independence and statehood. The Black Government Conference constituted a significant outcome of their personal experiences struggling for liberation in Detroit.

Though in many ways the PG-RNA's unique goals resonated with the plethora of objectives animating Black nationalist organizing during the 1960s and 1970s, New Afrikan activism reminds us that Black Power had different meanings to a range of people and organizations. The next chapter continues introducing the RNA and its brand of Black Power through an exploration of the foundational documents and ideas that codified as "New Afrikan Political Science." After outlining that ideological foundation, we can begin analyzing various New Afrikans' lifestyle politics.

Chapter 3 – "No Longer Deaf, Dumb, or Blind": New Afrikan Political Science and the Foundations of Lifestyle Politics

The order and meaning of the RNA's green, red, and black representative flag illuminates some distinguishing features of the New Afrikan republic. According to an article titled "The Flag of Our Nation," the color black is on the bottom to symbolize the political and economic positions of African people throughout the world. Green takes up the top position of the RNA flag because New Afrikans recognize obtaining land as the most important aspect of their struggle for liberation. Only by gaining land and independence could New Afrikans expect to help rearrange the economic conditions that made African people among the poorest in the world. Finally, the thin red stripe in the middle stands in for the blood of people who must secure land through any means necessary, though New Afrikans hoped to lose "as little Black blood as possible" in pursuit of their goals.[97]

Interestingly, around the same time the RNA released an article explaining its flag, Edward Vaughn, a Black business owner and former Citywide Citizens Action Committee member (alongside Milton Henry), published a small book explaining the history, meaning, and use of the red, black, and green flag. In elaborating the flag's colors and their order, Vaughn argues that they follow the tradition of Garveyism – the political movement that made them popular in African liberation struggle worldwide – and insists that the colors should never be changed or reinterpreted.[98] Though seemingly minor, the variations between the RNA's account and Vaughn's rendition is symbolic of the wider body of arguments that distinguished the RNA from its Black Power-era counterparts.

The RNA emerged in the midst of the 1960s, a moment of great social and political upheaval in the United States and across Africa and the Third World. New Afrikans viewed

theirs as just one of the many nations participating in the global effort to end worldwide White supremacy and win independence for colonized peoples. Global revolutionary fervor provided New Afrikans with an opportunity to educate African Americans about the PG-RNA's role in that collective uprising. The discontent of anti-colonial/independence movements resonated with the founders of the Provisional Government who, following African, Third World, and U.S. Black revolutionary traditions, produced similar ideas in their foundational texts. These ideals are reflected in the RNA's "Declaration of Independence," "Code of Umoja," "New Afrikan Creed & Oath," and "New Afrikan Ujamaa," as well as the PG-RNA's organizational structure and New Afrikans' attempts to take their independence movement to the international arena via the United Nations.

This chapter analyzes the foundational texts of "New Afrikan Political Science" (NAPS), or RNA ideology, to demonstrate how founders developed their understanding of citizenship in the United States. Their conception of U.S. citizenship formed the basis on which New Afrikans interpreted the relationship between land, power, and independence. Written and published within the first five years of the Provisional Government's founding, each document provides a glimpse into the ideology that has guided many New Afrikans' decisions about their lifestyles. By exploring the fundamentals of NAPS, this chapter seeks to achieve at least three goals. First, I survey the RNA's body of ideological literature in order to examine how anti-colonial revolutions generally and African people's worldwide struggles specifically provided inspiration to PG-RNA founders. Second, I elaborate how the concept of citizenship undergirded New Afrikan ideology and political aspirations. The RNA sought sovereignty, independence, and reparations on the premise that African people in the United States were not legitimate citizens. The goal of independence compelled the first conscious New Afrikans to frame their formation

as a "provisional government" instead of a Black nationalist organization. In addition, their perception of African Americans as non-citizens in relation to the United States also compelled them to forge alliances with other peoples whom they considered colonized, including Native Americans and Puerto Ricans. Third and finally, the documents and ideas presented in this chapter form a framework for comprehending New Afrkans' lifestyle politics. This chapter examines these three aspect of RNA thought and practice in relation to their concept of citizenship.

A basic understanding of RNA ideology will help scholars of Black Power and its aftermath better contextualize that historical moment and those operating within it. Although the RNA never gained the popularity of formations like the Black Panther Party, New Afrikans were in close contact with various Black Power-era activists, and wielded an important, though unfortunately little recognized, impact on them. Scholars can begin to develop more thorough analyses of various organizations and the era in general through recognizing how individuals and entities influenced and learned from each other. The RNA's activism in general, and its territorial efforts (the NAIM) and struggle for reparations particularly, supplies scholars with largely underutilized lenses that expand and deepen prevailing discourses about Black Power and Black nationalism.

The RNA's Foundational Documents

Some New Afrikans refer to New Afrikan Political Science (NAPS) as an ideology that guides their thinking. My understanding of ideology is drawn from cultural scholar Stuart Hall who defines it as "the mental frameworks – the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and systems of representation – which different classes of social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works."[99] The RNA's

founding documents impart a basic understanding of its ideology by defining the RNA, indicating who may be considered a New Afrikan, and mapping out the Provisional Government's goals and strategies. I contend that NAPS can be distilled into the following principles:

(1) Black people in the United States make up a "captive" African nation who had citizenship imposed on them when it should have been offered with the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.[100]

(2) According to the UN Charter, New Afrikans have the right to determine for themselves whether they want to remain citizens of the United States or create their own independent nation-state.

(3) The RNA cannot become truly independent and fully self-determined if the United States remains intact as a capitalistic imperialist force.

(4) New Afrikans are consciously fighting a war against U.S. imperialism and for RNA (and all oppressed nations') self-determination.

(5) A prerequisite for winning the war for independence and self-determination is Black Americans' personal transformations into conscious New Afrikans.

Beginning with the RNA "Declaration of Independence," this section examines the founding documents and presents them as the cornerstone of NAPS and, therefore, the basis of New Afrikans' lifestyle politics. The "Declaration of Independence" embodies the essence of what the Black Government Conference sought to achieve in bringing together various Black nationalist groups in 1968. It constitutes one of the most important outcomes of that meeting and illustrates the moment in which the New Afrikan Independence Movement first began to take definitive shape. Also, the declaration represents the fundamental viewpoints that eventually framed other key documents.

Declaration of Independence

The RNA's "Declaration of Independence" articulates the predicament of African people in the United States and proffers an approach to solving that problem. Writers framed the plight

as the enduring Maafa that effectively made Black people "deaf, dumb, and blind," meaning that their acceptance of European hegemony significantly weakened their connection with their African ancestry. That New Afrikans borrowed this phrasing directly from the Nation of Islam demonstrates the Nation's overwhelming influence on thinkers and activists of the era, and signifies Malcolm X's importance to New Afrikans in particular. When 200 Black Government Conference attendees signed the "Declaration of Independence," they decided that physical and political independence comprised the solution to Black people's dilemma. They summed up this decision in the opening paragraph when they proclaimed "New Afrikan" people "forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States of America and the obligations which that country's unilateral decision to make our ancestors and ourselves paper-citizens placed on us."[101] In announcing New Afrikan autonomy, the signers simultaneously reaffirmed the longstanding desire for self-determination expressed in African American political thought, and forged a new path for the NAIM to proceed by reiterating black self-determination within the context of the *Maafa*.

The RNA's "Declaration of Independence" consists of three other parts. One asserts New Afrikans' right to self-determination and emphasizes that they desire nothing from the United States except the basic human rights guaranteed to all people. More specifically, the framers demand that Black people in the United States receive reparations for the damage done by the *Maafa*. Addressing the probability that their oppressors would refuse to provide the requested restitution, the authors also position New Afrikans as revolutionaries prepared to back their demand with struggle against the injustices done to all oppressed peoples of the world.[102]

A second part of the document specifies particular goals and objectives, or "aims of [the New Afrikan] revolution." The fourteen aims form roughly three overlapping categories:

individual rights and responsibilities; procedures for developing the Black nation; and statements of commitment to overturn global oppression. Individual responsibilities include being "industrious" and producing scholarship in service to the Black nation and the revolution. One goal indicates that such work would be rewarded. Some goals concern both building up the Black nation and living cooperatively as a consequence of creating "the New Society" in which New Afrikans would reside for the benefit of their nation. Other aspirations for the Black Nation include attaining religious and spiritual freedom, "assur[ing] equality of rights for the sexes," and calling for the end to racial discrimination. Also, the "Declaration" seeks to place the means of production under the control of the New Afrikan government, thereby assuring that all citizens benefit from industry. The document's authors deem all of the aforementioned elements important for "the New Society" they envision because they insist "self-respect and mutual respect among all people in the Society" cannot exist if the said nation's citizens harm each other in the very ways founders hoped to destroy.

The closing paragraph of the "Declaration" charges signers with devoting all of their physical, economic, and intellectual resources to bringing about a successful revolution and winning independence. The authors believed only with independence could they create a "New Society." Building upon the aspirations set by their predecessors in various abolitionist, emigrationist, and communist formations, the authors believed "the New Society" would be "better than what we now know and as perfect as man can make it."[103] It is probable that the "Declaration's" authors employed vague wording in order to leave room for future New Afrikans to conceive of their own interpretations. That way, activists could be flexible and dynamic as they struggled for New Afrikan Independence and Third World liberation. For example, in 1968 a strong Black feminist and queer movement had yet to develop. But beginning in the 1970s

with the Combahee River Collective and other Black and Brown feminist organizations, a burgeoning critique of heterosexism gained momentum.[104] Thus the RNA "Declaration's" lack of any steadfast description of "the New Society" theoretically made room for New Afrikans to embrace changes necessitated by such critiques. Also, like many other Black Power-era revolutionaries, New Afrikan founders understood that their ability to gain independence from the United States was both reliant on and instrumental to the success of various Third World revolutionaries and their allies in the United States whom historian Cynthia A. Young refers to as the "U.S. Third World Left."[105]

In many ways, the RNA's "Declaration of Independence" existed within the trajectory of a Black revolutionary tradition that sought to define African people's problems and have them decide on appropriate solutions for themselves. For example, one can see parallels between the RNA founders' intentions and the aims of those who overthrew the French government and created the Republic of Haiti. The 1804 Haitian "Declaration of Independence" listed Haitians' grievances and committed those who signed on (both literally and ideologically) with the task of creating a better world. It stated,

> It is not enough to have expelled the barbarians who have bloodied our land for two centuries; it is not enough to have restrained those ever-evolving factions that one after another mocked the specter of liberty that France dangled before you. We must, with one last act of national authority, forever assure the empire of liberty in the country of our birth; we must take any hope of re-enslaving us away from the inhuman government that for so long kept us in the most humiliating torpor. In the end we must live independent or die.[106]

Because of their successful revolution against enslavement, Haitians became an inspiration to their contemporaries as well as future generations of freedom fighters, including some African Americans active in political organizing during the Black Power era.

The RNA "Declaration" echoes such sentiments as it ends with an agreement that the signers would "pledge without reservation, ourselves, our talents, and all our worldly goods" to bring about a successful revolution. RNA counterparts such as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the Black Panther Party also expressed similar ideas. The League, for example, sought to wage "relentless struggle against racism, capitalism, and imperialism." In so doing, it strove to help create a free world for all oppressed peoples.[107] The RNA's statement also parallels Huey P. Newton's concept of "revolutionary suicide," which he summed up in a poem that reads, "By surrendering my life to the revolution/ I found eternal life."[108] Many New Afrikan revolutionaries began to interpret their lives according to the aims of their fight for sovereignty and the ideology that guided it.

The New Afrikan Creed

Another important document in the canon of NAPS is the "New Afrikan Creed, " which reiterates the "Declaration's" aims and builds on the pledge presented at the "Declaration's" conclusion. Written and approved shortly after the RNA's founders declared Black people's independence from the United States, the creed is divided into two sections. The first section contains fifteen commitments to which New Afrikans agree when they became conscious citizens. With attention given to individual and collective spirituality, moral aptitude, revolutionary discipline, and the pursuit of global liberation, these personal pledges (written as "I-statements") form the foundation for New Afrikans' collective identity and lifestyle politics. For example, point number ten states: "I will give my life, if that is necessary, I will give my time, my mind, my strength and my wealth because this IS necessary."[109] Like the "Declaration's" closing pledge, the "Creed" exhibits an idealism matching that of New Afrikans' revolutionary forebears and many of their contemporaries. It posits a utopian vision of a world

free from oppression and problems that the New Afrikan government and its citizens were struggling against.

The second section closes out the "Creed" with a pledge that summarizes its fifteen points of commitment. The original version reads: "Now, freely and on my own will, I pledge this creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain and disgrace and banishment if I prove false. For, I am no longer deaf, dumb or blind. I am – by the grace of Malcolm – a New Afrikan." The Creed's authors borrowed the phrase, "deaf, dumb, or blind" from Elijah Muhammad who used it to describe "so-called Negroes" who accepted European cultural, spiritual, and political domination. By reciting "I am no longer deaf, dumb or blind," the speaker/reader reiterated a New Afrikan identity that is directly opposed to European hegemony and ignorance of Black people's African heritage.

Malcolm X's figurative prominence at the pledge's closing should come as no surprise considering his influence in the lives of the Obadele brothers and many other Black Power activists. When the RNA developed the "Creed," Malcolm X's spirit endured as one of the preeminent forces behind various Black Power ideologies of the period.[110] However, his distinction became subtler when on May 5, 1993, the RNA revised the pledge to state: "I am, by inspiration of the ancestors and grace of the Creator, a New Afrikan."[111] It is likely that with the aging and passing of several important activists whose work preceded and inspired the creation of the RNA, the PG-RNA realized their gratitude should include more than just their ideological father. That is not to suggest, however, that his importance diminished. Since the 1970s, some New Afrikans have gone so far as to base their calendar around the departure of their patron saint, dating moments following his tragic death as "adm," or after the death of Malcolm.[112]

Finally, the "New Afrikan Creed," as a statement of principles, helped give more specific shape to the foundation of what later cohered as New Afrikan Political Science. The practice of reciting the full list of I-statements, or personal declarations, at gatherings helped solidify a collective New Afrikan identity based on struggle. New Afrikans' abilities to uphold these commitments in various aspects of their lives became the essence of lifestyle politics because the statements guided how they interpreted their everyday actions and life choices. Coupled with the "Declaration of Independence," the "New Afrikan Creed" provides a basic theoretical understanding of how New Afrikans construct their identity and potentially structure their lives.

The New Afrikan Oath

The "New Afrikan Creed" is repeated more concisely in the "The New Afrikan Oath," the RNA's pledge of allegiance. Through the oath, New Afrikans promise:

> For the fruition of Black Power,
> For the triumph of Black nationhood,
> I pledge to the Republic of New Africa
> and to the building of a better people and a
> better world, my total devotion, my
> total resources and the total power
> of my mortal life.[113]

That the Oath begins with a vow to bring Black Power to fruition through "the triumph of Black nationhood," forces us to reconsider some of the prevailing assumptions about the concept of "Black Power." According to a flyer produced by New Afrikans in New York City, "Black power means more than wearing Afros, dashikis, taking or teaching a course in Afro-American history, using traditional names and calling each other brother and sister." Instead, "Black power means having your own nation. But in order to build a nation [Black people] must begin by controlling the institutions in [their] communities." The author of the flyer's text emphasizes controlling schools and supporting "real Black political candidates, Black community

organizations such as the Welfare Rights Groups, and all Black revolutionary organizations."[114] Such goals were congruent with the more prevalent emphases of many Black Power-era organizations. Yet, in articulating the end-goal as the creation of a Black nation, RNA activists transformed seemingly reformist goals into revolutionary tactics for Black independence.

Though never given one single definition, Black Power always called for African Americans to exercise their ability to make choices that reflected their best interests. Whether they endorsed changing one's name and donning an afro, fighting for the right to live in decent housing, or selecting people who would best represent Black people's interests in institutional politics, activists discussed their goals and decisions in terms of "doing for self" or "controlling our own destiny." When considered in those terms, the prospect of creating an independent Black nation-state makes visible some heretofore understudied items on Black Power activists' list of demands. Specifically, New Afrikans defined Black Power as the complete liberation of Black people, especially through the attainments of an independent Black nation-state and reparations. The RNA's presence during that era – along with the existence of the Afrikan Peoples Party and the Black Liberation Army – complicates how we now understand the concept of Black Power.[115] Each of the three aforementioned groups shared overlapping membership with the Black Panther Party, the single most studied Black Power organization.

New Afrikans in the BPP tended to accentuate point number ten in the Party's Ten Point Program, which originally stated that a "major political objective" of the Party was to get "a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny."[116] When pressed about this matter, however, Huey Newton wrote to Robert Williams indicating that the BPP could not give support to the independence

movement. His reasoning was that it would not be in Black people's best interest to seek independence while the United States, "a capitalistic imperialist country," remained intact. He argued that by seceding, Black Americans risked facing a colonial situation worse than those experienced by various African and Third World countries that had recently gained their "independence." Newton disclosed,

> In other words we're not really handling this question at this time because we feel that for us that it is somewhat premature, that I realize the physiological value of fighting for territory. But at this time the Black Panther Party feels that we don't have to be in an enclave type situation where we would be more isolated than we already are now… And again I think that it would be perfectly justified if the Blacks decided that they wanted to secede the union, but I think the question should be left up to the popular masses, the popular majority. So this is it in a nutshell.[117]

In 1970, after significant changes to his analysis of local and geopolitical conditions, Newton restated his position on the Provisional Government. Instead of considering it premature, he put forth that any land under PG control was "the people's liberated territory" that "represent[ed] a community liberated." However, for Newton having liberated territory was not in itself a sufficient end-goal in a broader struggle for revolutionary intercommunalism. He insisted, "It is only ground for preparation for the liberation of the world, seizing of the wealth from the ruling circle and equal distribution and proportional representation in the intercommunal framework."[118] Although Newton signaled some ideological support for the RNA, he maintained his disagreements with New Afrikan independence. By arguing for intercommunalism, he also critiqued the major goal of New Afrikan independence activism, nationhood.

According to Assata Shakur, many Panthers either did not understand or disagreed with Newton's arguments for intercommunalism. Perhaps this lack of comprehension and/or difference of opinion helps explain why several Panthers and BLA members continued to

promote point number ten of the BPP's program and platform. New York Panthers Safiya Bukhari and Bilal Sunni Ali pledged their allegiance to the Provisional Government as they carried out their duties for the Party. As former Panthers, Shakur and her comrade Sundiata Acoli also swore loyalty to the PG-RNA toward the end of the 1970s.[119]

The Congress of African Peoples (CAP) also exhibited fidelity towards the RNA. In a five-point resolution, they decided the following. First, that Black people in the United States had a right to territory in the Black-belt, and to "support the efforts of the Republic of New Africa to establish on this landmass an independent, progressive, technically and spiritually excellent nation for those black people who want it." Second, they recognized

> the right of the Republic of New Africa [to] organize a peaceful plebiscite among the people living in the national territory and to secede the territory and the people peacefully from the United States should the plebiscite so decide, and the Congress explicitly opposes and condemns any efforts of the United States or its political sub-divisions to interfere with the peaceful organization of such a plebiscite or the peaceful execution of its results.

Third, CAP urged "the Nixon Administration and a joint Committee of the U.S. Congress to meet individually or jointly with Representatives of the Republic to discuss terms of a peaceful settlement of the land secession question, and with representatives of the Republic and of the Congress of African Peoples to arrive at the details of a reparations settlement." The fourth point emphasized the need to provide African Americans with reparations and resettle those who desired independence. Fifth and finally, CAP advised Black troops fighting for the United States against Vietnam to enter a cease-fire agreement with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.[120]

To return to the "New Afrikan Oath," pledgees' commitment to Black Power is accompanied by yet another vow to devote one's entire livelihood to the pursuit of that ideal of territorial sovereignty. Whether such total commitment was achievable, or even desirable, for most New Afrikans will be the topic of later chapters. However, based on the "New Afrikan

Oath," the RNA "Creed," and the "Constitution" (discussed below), it is clear that New Afrikan founders did not subscribe to individualism in the same ways broader American society did. Instead, theoretically aligning themselves with the Southern African concept of *ubuntu*, they considered each individual New Afrikan an important part of the Black Nation.[121] The fine line New Afrikans drew between the individual and the group served as the basis for the development of their lifestyle politics. This line also shaped their theorizations about how the New Afrikan economy could function.

The New African Ujamaa: The Economics of the Republic of New Africa (1970)

The RNA "Declaration of Independence," "New Afrikan Creed," and "Oath" all sketch the broad ideological outline of NAPS. They provide a basis from which New Afrikans begin thinking about liberation, but they do not convey in detail how that liberation is to be won or what the end-result – an independent nation – would look like. Though Brother Imari outlined a strategy for liberation in his "Eight Strategic Elements," the "New Afrikan Ujamaa" gives more insight into what New Afrikans deemed necessary for independence. In concurrence with the aims written in the "Declaration of Independence," this document communicates New Afrikans' conviction that an economy based on the principle of *ujamaa* would best serve them in a global society. One-time Minister of Culture Maulana Karenga's definition of "ujamaa" roughly translates it as "cooperative economics." However, the Kiswahili word literally means "family-hood."[122]

The *New African Ujamaa* outlines a plan that, if implemented, could be the economic foundation for a society that nurtures in its citizens the characteristics and personality traits explicated in the "Creed" and "Oath." In fact, the *New African Ujamaa* expressly committed RNA citizens to the creation of "The New Community" that they envisioned in many ways as the

antithesis of U.S. society. Seeking a productive and cooperative – as opposed to consumerist and individualistic – way of life, The New Community would serve the basic needs of the New Afrikan people. In turn, once freed from poverty and oppression, New Afrikans would dedicate their work and leisure time to building and maintaining their nation. Or as written in the document, "those whom [the RNA] bring[s] into the New Community will be New Africans: Black people already trained to live with one another as brothers and sisters and willing and capable of putting the New African Creed into practice."[123] New Afrikans' capabilities to live cooperatively in line with the Creed "as brothers and sisters" would prove pivotal in making this economic philosophy and system successful.

The *New African Ujamaa* has eight sections, the first of which is a preamble that defines nation-building and Black liberation as sacred duties.[124] "Our supreme purpose in life – our reason for being," the author writes, "must remain a companion-guide, eternally with us, full bodied, and well formed." The author implores New Afrikans to be mindful of "the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free," as s/he deems the end of worldwide oppression as part and parcel to Black liberation from U.S. domination. Further, s/he posits the "supreme purpose of the nation" as akin to economic production, which under the proper system, was supposed to ensure that each citizen's basic needs were taken care of. The author outlines such necessities in the preamble as the six basic principles of ujamaa: food, housing, clothing, health services, and education, along with the element of defense.[125]

The remaining sections of the *New Afrikan Ujamaa* explain the nuts and bolts of providing the "essentials" and managing manufacturing, industry, trade, recreation, cultural production, and New Afrikans' personal incomes. One part states,

> The principle involved is simple. All the wealth – the Gross National product (the GNP) – created by the work of the Nation shall belong to the people as a whole, to the Nation…

> Every 'dollar' of the GNP would thus be divided in accordance with a calculated decision of the Government, designed to efficiently achieve national goals.[126]

As described by the *New African Ujamaa*, the national economy would secure both the nation's and each individual New Afrikans' needs. After the fulfillment of those essentials, any possible surplus would be distributed as personal income for spending and saving. In this way, the architects of the plan hoped to furnish a better standard of living for Black Americans than they believed most experienced in the United States. The RNA system of cooperative economics would also support many of the goals found in the previously mentioned foundational documents, including eliminating class disparity.

As students of the emerging modern nations, New Afrikans likely based much of their *New Afrikan Ujamaa* on the example set by Julius K. Nyerere and his political party, the Tanzanian African National Union (TANU).[127] When Pan-Africanism and Third World solidarity regained strength during the mid-to-late-1960s, some activists regarded Tanzania as an influential model for revolutionary achievement.[128] Black nationalists, students, and Black Peace Corp participants of all stripes from the United States began flocking to the unified republic, partially in response to President Nyerere's call to African Americans for assistance in TANU's nation-building project.[129] Furthermore, Black activists such as Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver, as well as Pete and Charlotte O'Neal, found political asylum there after fleeing the United States. Nyerere and Tanzania tremendously influenced the U.S. Black Power movement and the enterprises of African-descended revolutionaries across the globe. The RNA comprises just one of the many formations galvanized by the breadth of President Nyerere's authority and significance.[130]

Upon reviewing the works of Nyerere, one can discern where New Afrikans borrowed directly from the African head of state's ideas. For example, Nyerere regarded the accumulation

of personal wealth negatively. He claimed that "Apart from the anti-social effects of the accumulation of personal wealth, the very desire to accumulate it must be interpreted as a vote of 'no confidence' in the social system." On that premise, he forcefully argued that a healthy society was responsible for each individual and that no one should ever "worry about what will happen to him tomorrow if he does not hoard wealth today. Society itself should look after him, or his widow, or his orphans. This is exactly what traditional African society succeeded in doing… That is socialism."[131] From the president's vantage point, each individual stood equally responsible for the well being of the broader society. Again, Nyerere aptly summarizes the citizen's responsibility when he writes

> In traditional African society everybody was a worker… But it is too often forgotten, nowadays, that the basis of this great socialistic achievement was this: that it was taken for granted that every member of society – barring only the children and the infirm – contributed his fair share of efforts towards the production of its wealth.[132]

Following Nyerere, the *New Afrikan Ujamaa* predicates the RNA's success on similar ideals. New Afrikans' work, whether in civil engineering, teaching, or as ministers in the Provisional Government, would go toward the betterment of the New Society they were trying to build. The reward for contributing one's time, skills, and labor-property to the RNA would include luxuries such as leisure time to nurture ones' intellectual, artistic, and spiritual desires, as well as the accommodations to vacation at water-front resorts financed by the Provisional Government with the surplus created by the hard work of its people.

History shows that Tanzania, for various reasons, did not achieve the economic and political goals touted by Nyerere and TANU during the 1960s and 1970s. One explanation provided by Nyerere maintains, "Our ambitions do outrun our competence at times… But we are aware of our goals, and we are conscious of the socialist philosophy which we have chosen as the path to them."[133] According to A.R. Mohamed Babu, TANU's failure resulted from its

inability to learn from former colonies in Asia that, in previous decades, attempted to develop their own brands of socialism in an overwhelmingly capitalist world. In addition, Tanzania's socialist philosophy earned serious opposition from the United States and other nation-states hostile to the African country's policy of "non-alignment."[134]

Though the Republic of New Afrika has yet to gain political independence, New Afrikans have based the projected success of their economy on their ability to gain income from reparations, a national bank funded by Malcolm X Land Certificates, taxes paid by citizens, and donations.[135] Such logic assumed two things: first, that the United States would eventually pay reparations to the African people whose ancestors European Americans enslaved; and second, that Black people, even conscious New Afrikans, were able to and would willingly purchase land certificates, pay taxes, make monetary donations, and contribute their labor to building a physical New Afrikan infrastructure. Although the *New African Ujamaa* expresses skepticism regarding the United States' willingness to pay what the RNA demands, the document conveys more confidence towards the possibility that African Americans, once educated, would vindicate the second assumption. Ultimately, however, the RNA's ambitions outran what was realistically achievable. The duality of being consciously New Afrikan and paper citizens of the United States compromised RNA citizens' ability to live their ideology. I discuss the complications of New Afrikans' "dual citizenship" later in this chapter.

The RNA Constitution & the Organizational Structure of the PG-RNA

The "Code of Umoja" (the RNA constitution) was first approved in March 1970. Its ratification occurred during the convention at which Brother Imari won the presidency through what he argued was a "popular" election, though several prominent New Afrikans, including Brother Gaidi, Queen Mother Moore, and Betty Shabazz, boycotted the convention and the vote.

The "Code of Umoja" explains in detail the RNA's various government offices and describes the duties specific to each position. It also delineates the Provisional Government's plans for funding its operations, running the economy, and recruiting and retaining New Afrikan citizens as active workers. The publication of this early document marked an important step in the RNA's efforts to codify its various ideas presented in previous publications, including Brother Imari's *War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine*. It also demonstrates how the PG-RNA's goals and strategies departed from those of its Black Power contemporaries.

Founders set up the PG-RNA as a governmental body rather than as an organization. A published document titled *Government Administration* and that predated the "Code of Umoja" explains various government positions and their functions, the chain of command, the duties of RNA citizens, how to pay taxes, and many other legal and functional laws that govern the Black nation.[136] The founders consciously framed the Black Government Conference as an opportunity for Black people in the United States to formally declare independence from what they viewed as an oppressive colonizer. Therefore, they elected a president, vice presidents, ministers, consuls, and judges. Unlike other Black Power-era formations, the RNA did not intend to create these positions in name only. Instead, they fully expected to operate as a government with sovereignty recognized by the United Nations and the United States. When Brother Imari delivered the young government's letter to Secretary of State Dean Rusk seeking negotiations (see chapter 2), he did so both to demonstrate to Black people that the RNA was not a group of "arm-chair" revolutionaries and to begin the process of gaining sovereignty in adherence with international law.

Thus the Provisional Government originally organized itself as follows: a president, first and second vice presidents, as well as several ministers and deputy ministers. An all-star cast of

Black nationalists filled the original Provisional Government's ranks, including Robert F. Williams, Betty Shabazz, Jamil Al-Amin (H. Rap Brown), Maulana Karenga, Amiri Baraka, Akbar Muhammad Ahmad/Maxwell Stanford, Jr., and Queen Mother Audley Moore. It seemed as if some RNA leaders, including Williams and Baraka, only lent their names to the government and did not actually perform the duties of their positions to any significant degree. Others, including Queen Mother Moore, became life-long New Afrikans.[137]

Even though New Afrikans organized a government structure, some scholars and activists argue that the RNA initially functioned much like other Black Power organizations insofar as it conducted political education classes and promoted community-organizing rhetoric.[138] However, I maintain that RNA founders' initial and enduring intention to act as an independent government distinguishes New Afrikan activism from any other of the era. In fact, not only did this aspiration set the RNA apart from most other Black Power organizations, it also developed among New Afrikan ranks a nuanced understanding of Black people's relationship to the United States. The republic's advocacy of political independence and territorial autonomy as the only solutions to Black American's problems attests to New Afrikans profound departure from the objectives endorsed by more popular Black Power organizations. Yet, although RNA's founders stated and agreed upon their desires for independence, disagreements over the path to that end-goal caused internal dissention that led to notable changes in the government structure.

The first change occurred in 1969 following the New Bethel incident. During that year, acting president Brother Gaidi reorganized the Provisional Government so that there were four regional vice-presidents as opposed to first and second vice presidents. Within one year, as a result of the "Constitutional Crisis" and Brother Imari's usurpation of power, more changes took place. The Black Legion officially became the New Afrikan Security Forces, a change that

seemed more nominal than substantial. However, over the next decade the PG-RNA grew and evolved to fit its changing program initiatives as well as the evolving circumstances in which the republic found itself operating. Most important among those alterations were several revisions of the "Code of Umoja," the creations of the People's Center Council (PCC) and the People's Revolutionary Leadership Council (PRLC), and the expansion of ministries such as those concerned with judicial and international affairs. Regarding these developments, it is important to mention that the PCC functioned as the top decision-making body in the RNA, followed by the President. Moreover, local PRLCs began replacing the consulates established in the late-1960s and early 1970s.[139]

The RNA's evolution through conflict, repression, and growth contributed to its desire to take steps toward being recognized by the United Nations. Political scientist James C. Roberts writes that in order for any "political community to be sovereign," it must adhere in some degree to the following principles: it must have territory and a population; it must demonstrate "effective rule over that territory and population;" and it must gain the "recognition of other nation-states."[140] Well-versed in international law and trying to gain the recognition New Afrikans argued was due to the captive Black nation, the RNA began trying to live up to these criteria after their creation in 1968.

I elaborate in more detail various other aspects of the "Code of Umoja" later in this chapter. For now, I would like to emphasize that the codification of New Afrikan law – as with other important foundational documents – was necessary to the creation of a national political structure and culture by which New Afrikan citizens began to develop a unique lifestyle. The intellectual paradigm expressed therein guided, and continues to shape, New Afrikans' understandings of their role in the pursuit of Black liberation in the United States and global

revolution. That paradigm defies the typical categories within which scholars tend to place Black Power groups and individuals and thus complicates prevailing understandings of Black nationalism, Black revolutionary activism, and Black Power in the United States. Further, a fuller comprehension of New Afrikans' ideological base reveals how difficult it is for people to match their actual practice with their ideals, especially when those ideals run counter to the structure of the larger society of which they are a part. The concept of citizenship comprises one important site for investigating Black Power activists' attempts to match their practice with their ideology. Citizenship formed the basis of the RNA's creation, the republic's conceptualization of the New Afrikan, and New Afrikans' attempts to develop solidarity with other oppressed nations of color. An elaboration of this concept makes it possible to engage in a thorough discussion of New Afrikans' lifestyle politics and the consequences of their participation in the NAIM.

RNA Citizenship

Considering themselves "an African Nation in the Western Hemisphere Struggling for Complete Independence," New Afrikans challenged the legitimacy of Black people's forced incorporation into the United States. This objection formed the basis of the RNA's entire program for Black Liberation and animated the republic's decision to frame its actions using rhetoric befitting a government rather than an activist organization or political party.[141] My concern here is ascertaining why New Afrikans formed a government instead of organizing a national liberation movement. It is likely they took that course of action due to their understanding of international law. In demanding liberation as a self-proclaimed government, the PG-RNA expected the UN to provide it with certain protections guaranteed in documents like the Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Yet, creating a provisional government and questioning the validity of African American's citizenship did not render the Black Nation

immune from many troubles. In the remainder of this chapter, I explore how New Afrikans conceptualized citizenship when they declared independence and critically analyze the complications involved with their chosen path to Black liberation. I also illustrate some empowering aspects of taking on the New Afrikan identity, namely becoming educated about history and international law and positing the Black Nation's struggles in solidarity with those of other "Third World" revolutionaries.

The RNA & Black Citizenship in the U.S.

New Afrikans predicated their contest to liberate a land-base in the South on the idea that African-descended people in the United States were not legal U.S. citizens. Their reading of sociologist Robert S. Browne's work led them to insist that the legacy of white supremacy invalidated Black people's citizenship in the United States for three reasons. First, enslaved Africans were prisoners of illegal warfare that resulted in their forced migration to the "New World" where they and their descendents labored as chattel with no rights to citizenship. Second, the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment folded emancipated Africans into the U.S. body politic without their consent. In the PG-RNA's own words, "We are all born citizens of the Black Nation. This is the only legal citizenship We have. We are not legally citizens of the United States, because We were never given the chance to vote yes or no on American citizenship when it was offered to us after We became free."[142] Third, even with U.S. sovereignty "offered" to them, African Americans never have enjoyed the full benefits associated with membership in the nation. Instead, violence and racial terrorism have characterized their experiences and the United States has refused to adequately protect them or at least fully extend the means of legal redress that is supposedly guaranteed to U.S. citizens.[143] Although the Black Nation attempted to resolve the problems African Americans continued to

experience even after they destroyed some legal barriers to "first-class citizenship," the New Afrikan approach to those dilemmas contained its own set of limitations. Even in their rejection of American citizenship, New Afrikans could not completely ignore the benefits, responsibilities, and rules of U.S. society. As "captives" of and within the United States, they operated with a Du Boisian-like duality of being consciously New Afrikan, while simultaneously de facto, if not legal, U.S. citizens.

New Afrikans were not the first group of people to struggle over the theory and praxis of citizenship. It has long been a contested concept in the United States, especially for Africans and their descendants. When European settlers first arrived and began displacing indigenous inhabitants, these colonizers brought with them the notion that people whose status was less than royalty were subject to the will of those in power. By the time they waged their rebellion against England, the founders of the incipient nation-state had significantly rethought previous notions of citizenship and subjectivity. The French Revolution helped them develop their thinking in this regard by substantiating among Anglo Americans the notion of republican citizenship – a form of national membership based on responsible participation in the daily functioning of the state by every eligible person. It is important to note that their ideas about who belonged in the pool of "eligible" persons was flexible and applied unevenly so that it served the best interests of individual new states, the federal body, and the propertied White men who occupied most – if not all – of the new republic's positions of power.[144]

Because of this malleable and selective bestowal of U.S. citizenship, several collectivities have posed threats to White men's exclusive conceptualization of national belonging. Though White men expected White women to help build their nation, they claimed White women gradually should be granted only limited citizenship. Further, Anglo male citizens mainly

considered Native Americans a natural part of the "frontier" environment and, therefore, beyond consideration for both citizenship and humane treatment. As concerns enslaved Africans, their positioning posed a serious contradiction to the very foundation of the newly created American state. In relegating enslaved Africans to perpetual servitude and claiming these human chattels as the legal property of their owners, White male citizens cast them as unentitled to citizenship at the levels of legislative and judicial discourses and practices, among many others.[145] A fourth group, legally free Black men, presented the most complications to the praxis of U.S. citizenship, especially since many of these men participated on equal footing with White men in the carnage that won independence for the thirteen colonies. Some legally free Black men possessed the lawful ability to meet the requirements of citizenship during the post-independence and antebellum eras – being biologically male, owning property, and practicing responsible public and private duties for the individual states. In northern courts, case after case affirmed nominally free Black men's citizenship and legal rights, but those supposed entitlements often went unenforced. Southern courts continually ruled legally free Black men as "subjects," "quasi citizens or at least denizens," "wards," and "third class." In both the North and South, they occupied positions of legal ambiguity and social liminality.[146] As discussions of Black men's status proliferated at all levels of the ever-evolving local, state, and national politics, Black women were largely ignored in social and legal debates respecting U.S. citizenship.

The Dred Scott decision of 1857 seemed to clarify, once and for all, Black people's political status when it determined that those of African ancestry were not protected by the U.S. Constitution and could not be full members of the nation. While they could be residents in and citizens of individual states which determined their status and well being, as non-citizens of the union, Black people ultimately had no rights that White men were bound to respect. In the

aftermath of Dred Scott, Black folks who before were skeptical of emigration began packing their bags and looking for homes in Liberia, Canada, and elsewhere. Even Frederick Douglass for a short time gave "qualified support" to Black people's emigration to Haiti.[147]

The Civil War and Reconstruction soon revitalized Black men's pursuit of U.S. citizenship rights and spawned national debates concerning membership in the body politic. The question of citizenship seemed to be settled with enslaved Africans' legal emancipation beginning in 1863 and the ratification of the Thirteenth, Fourteen, and Fifteenth amendments of the U.S. Constitution. The Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. constitution abolished involuntary servitude except as punishment for a crime; the Fourteenth Amendment provided provisions for people to become U.S. citizens, and it promised citizens equal protection under the law; and the Fifteenth Amendment protected citizens' right to vote.[148] Yet, African Americans still would not enjoy the rights and privileges accorded to citizens of the United States. Instead, they entered a nadir during which racial terrorism, black codes, and discriminatory laws violently infringed on the rights those aforementioned pieces of legislation supposedly guaranteed to citizens.[149]

Prompted by such provocation and the unfulfilled promises of freedom, African Americans attempted to gain and exercise their rights through a variety of actions.[150] One tendency pursued the creation of Black states and homesteads throughout the South, including Texas and Mound Bayou, Mississippi, as well as in the states of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Illinois. That tendency persisted and evolved during the 20th century through Oscar Brown's 49th State Movement, Baba Oserjiman Adefunmi's African Nationalist Independence Movement, and individual expressions of the need for Black independence like that of Cyril V. Briggs in 1918.[151] Alongside these endorsements of territorial nationalism, Black activists' various efforts to win reparations and, after the founding of the United Nations, the movement to charge the U.S.

government with the genocide of African people in North America, all challenged the assumption that the arena of civil rights could yield the equality that all human beings were allegedly assured. All of these efforts collectively created the tradition from which the Republic of New Afrika eventually emerged.[152]

Another Black movement tradition that wrestled with the concept of citizenship, though from a different perspective, included various exertions aimed at obtaining and securing full civil rights for African Americans. The visionaries of and participants in such endeavors often framed the struggle in terms of gaining "first-class citizenship." That rhetoric assumed that one of the major problems African Americans faced was exclusion from access to the rights and privileges guaranteed by the U.S. constitution. Civil rights activists achieved their legal goals by 1965 when the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts "criminalized," to some degree, discrimination in public accommodations and preventing eligible adults from exercising the right to vote.[153]

Based on these and other historical examples, the Obadele Brothers, Queen Mother Moore, and other RNA theorists argued African Americans had to be given the choice of where they wanted to place their consent of citizenship. According to the RNA "Declaration of Independence," they had the right to be citizens of the Republic of New Afrika. By the time New Afrikans began advocating this position in the 1960s, they learned how to utilize international law and recent legal precedents within the United States to argue their case.[154] For example, they cited the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, Article 15, which states: "(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality"; and "(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his [or her] nationality."[155] Black people in the United States were indeed deprived of their original ethnicities and nationalities, and after several decades they had forged a new national identity.[156] For these reasons, the Provisional

Government claimed African descendants in the United States have since constituted a colonized "nation within a nation," the Republic of New Afrika. The RNA could enact its right to independence under United Nations Resolution 1514 (XV), which guarantees a people's right to self-determination, and protects them from unwarranted "armed action or repressive measures of all kinds… in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence."[157] When Brother Imari moved the RNA headquarters to Mississippi he believed that he was acting on this internationally guaranteed right in earnest.

Prior to their move south, New Afrikans seemed to operate more like an organization than a governing body. In some ways, the RNA resembled some of the other Black Power formations with its use of headline-worthy rhetoric that sought to build support by getting members involved in local community issues such as tenants' rights and by conducting weapons training. Even as they made gestures toward political independence, New Afrikans were more consumed with building membership and bringing their "president in exile," Robert F. Williams, home. Those activities earned the RNA plenty of government surveillance and routine attempts to discredit them and prevent them from gaining a large following.

Brother Gaidi's dispute with a Michigan judge exemplifies the conflict between New Afrikans and representatives of the state, especially that respecting their clashing concepts of citizenship. An article published in the *Detroit News* on May 1, 1969 underscored what its author perceived as a contradiction between the Michigan lawyer's rhetoric and his tendency to make "full use of the rights, privileges and immunities of the system he detests," including "the privilege of practicing law in a Michigan court" and "practicing the constitutional right of free speech by declaring, as he so often had before, that he is not a citizen of the United States." Also considering Brother Gaidi inconsistent, District Judge, James Smelt rhetorically inquired since

the New Afrikan "was not… a citizen – how could he hold membership in the State Bar of Michigan?" Smelt stopped the lawyer during his defense of a client "and barred him from practicing in [Smelt's] court." Brother Gaidi responded to the judge's condemnation by asking somewhat contradictorily, "How could the judge say I am not a citizen when the law of the land says I am, despite what I might think?" Smelt admitted to the *Detroit News* that he knew Brother Gaidi would not be prevented from practicing law in Michigan. The judge just wanted to make the point that the New Afrikan lawyer's rhetoric was problematic because it ran counter to his actual practice. Certainly, the judge also wanted to "flex his muscle" in that situation to let Brother Gaidi know who was boss.[158]

U.S. state and federal agents demonstrated their power with much more deadly effects in response to RNA citizens' attempts to match their bold rhetoric of nation building with corresponding actions. Just one year after the Provisional Government's founding, the presence of the RNA army, the Black Legion, caused alarm among authorities and residents in Detroit, which resulted in the New Bethel Incident. The New Bethel Incident made national headlines and became the first publically recorded battle between New Afrikans and the United States.[159]

A similar violent reaction occurred when Imari Obadele moved the RNA headquarters south. With a presumed "Propensity For Violence" – a reputation associated with New Afrikans purportedly because of the New Bethel Incident – the tone of RNA work posed a novel kind of threat to the United States' local, state, and federal governments.[160] In Mississippi, only about thirty New Afrikans regularly worked with the Jackson headquarters, and Brother Imari tried to "'make it perfectly clear [to local officials] that [they were] coming in peace.'"[161] Yet, because New Afrikans' attempted to match their practice with the rhetoric of "revolution and nation-building," they challenged U.S. governing bodies' ability to exercise sovereignty over the RNA.

For that reason, local officials and the FBI continued their efforts to monitor and "disrupt" RNA activity. Those efforts culminated in the August 18, 1971 raids on the RNA headquarters and residence – incursions that challenged New Afrikans' ability to exercise self-determination and withdraw their U.S. citizenship.[162]

New Afrikan's entanglement in the shootout brought them charges "ranging from murder and levy of war against the state of Mississippi to possession of stolen property." Three RNA activists were declared guilty of murder and Brother Imari was "convicted of conspiracy to commit offenses of assault and of unlawfully possessing unregistered firearms."[163] Those convictions stand to this day. In a pretrial maneuver to protect the RNA-11, defense lawyers unsuccessfully filed "an Article Three challenge to U.S. jurisdiction over Afrikan people in North America. This motion argued that the RNA… is a nation separate from, though held captive by, the United States of America."[164] Making a clear connection between the RNA and people such as Martin Delaney, the RNA-11 and their lawyers attempted to articulate before a hostile audience a theory that had long been marginalized by the U.S. government and African Americans who never fully subscribed to idea that they were members of a "captive" nation.

The raid on the RNA headquarters, the charges brought against the RNA-11, and the fact that the state government indicted and convicted New Afrikans as U.S. citizens, all magnified a duality New Afrikans faced in their simultaneous positioning as RNA citizens and "captives" under U.S. sovereignty. For New Afrikans, these happenings also signaled the outright refusal of the U.S. government to consider the legality (or morality) of African American citizenship. Finally, the charges and convictions demonstrate a fundamental problem with New Afrikans' project to reconstruct their citizenship. As an arbitrarily imposed though ardently defended concept, citizenship only mattered as much as the forces in power dictated. Therefore, conscious

New Afrikans' "dual citizenship" demonstrates the unbalanced personal and group application of such ideals, as well as the uneven persecution they faced because of their conceptualization of national belonging.

New Afrikans who associated with the Black Liberation Army (BLA), an underground amalgamation of several autonomous military cells, similarly faced violent repression that exposed the limits of their expressed RNA citizenship in U.S. courts. New Afrikan citizen Safiya Asya Bukhari joined the BLA after local and federal authorities forced her underground because of her activities as a Black Panther in New York City. In 1975, police apprehended her and convicted her of felony murder following a shootout in Virginia that resulted in the death of her comrade Kombozi.[165] Bukhari and her co-defendant Masai Ehehozi claimed that as New Afrikans, the Commonwealth of Virginia had no jurisdiction over them. Brother Imari agreed, stating "Sister Safiya and Brother Masai have lawfully chosen their citizenship of birth, in the Republic of New Africa, as that to which they owe their exclusive allegiance." That choice, the RNA leader argued, should be protected by the Emancipation Proclamation, the Thirteenth Amendment, and Article Fifteen of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, "to which the United States is signatory." Therefore, Brother Imari insisted, the defendants could legally demand their release because they were "prisoners of war" and not common criminals. But, like the RNA-11, Sister Safiya and Brother Masai "were charged under civilian criminal statutes of the State of Virginia and – despite their refusal to participate – were tried" and sentenced to forty years in prison each.[166]

Brother Gaidi's dispute with Judge Smelt and the trials of the RNA-11, Bukhari, and Masai comprise only a few examples of the formidable conflicts occasioned by New Afrikans' status as theoretical RNA citizens, but physical inhabitants of the United States and legal

subjects of the U.S. government's authority. Even though New Afrikans have attempted to create an independent nation based on their reading of history and legal theory, as a "captive nation," they are unable to exercise their beliefs as fully as they desire. This inability stems from the United States' and other nations' failure – if not outright refusal – to back the Republic of New Afrika and recognize it as a legitimate nation. The following section explores in more depth individual New Afrikans' personal application of NAPS and how it has impacted them from their declaration of independence to the present.

The Praxis of Being New Afrikan in the United States

Since its inception, the neophyte Black Government has struggled to protect New Afrikans' right to choose their citizenship. Even as Brother Imari, Safiya Bukhari, and many others attempted to give legitimacy to their self-determined formulation of citizenship, New Afrikans' overall practice mirrored what Brother Imari prescribed in his solicitation of support for the "People's Revolt Against Poverty." He instructed that

> black people live in two worlds politically. You must vote in the United States elections, and We must support our black mayors and Congresspersons and other officials in the U.S. system. This is a matter of self-defense. But We must vote for and support the officials of our black nation, the Republic of New Afrika, also. Both things are necessary at the present time.[167]

Nevertheless, the PG-RNA took steps soon after its founding to demonstrate to the world that the Republic of New Afrika was worthy of sovereignty and independence. One step involved the creation of the Black/New Afrikan Legion (or the New Afrikan Security Forces). Most, if not all, conscious citizens were required to serve in the army at some point.

Beginning with the Black Government Conference, PG-RNA founders took seriously the necessity of a strong military for the nation-building process. In fact, several paramilitary organizations represented a large portion of participants in the conference and signatories of the

"Declaration of Independence."[168] The PG-RNA also later developed rules stating that no conscious citizen should ever serve in the United States Armed Services. However, previous service did not cause suspicion. Brother Gaidi served as a fighter pilot in WWII, the U.S. army hired Brother Imari as a contracted employee until 1968, and U.S. armed forced veterans filled the RNA's ranks.[169] Point number ten of the "New Afrikan Oath" illustrates the RNA's insistence on fostering among its citizens a willingness to sacrifice. The oath requires pledgees to swear: "I will give my life, if that is necessary. I will give my time, my mind, my strength and my wealth because this IS necessary." The RNA expected New Afrikans to give these aspects of their lives in order to achieve the republic's sovereignty and "a better condition than the world has yet know."[170] Service in the New Afrikan Legion comprised just one way many New Afrikans demonstrated their devotion.

The service of General Kuratibisha Ali X Rashid of Panola, Alabama aptly exemplifies how some New Afrikans demonstrated their commitment to the Black Nation through participation in the Legion. Rashid involved himself with the Black Government Conference and was the ninety-ninth signer of the Declaration of Independence. From that moment, he served in various military positions under Minister of Defense, John Taylor/Mweusi Chui, and another military leader, Alajo Adegbalola. General Rashid emphasizes the importance of leaders like Chui who were able to instill discipline in Legionnaires. He reveals

> John Chui told us two things about weapons. He said 'guns are made to kill people…' He said, 'if you're not willing to kill people, leave your damn gun at home… If you got a knife and you get so mad you pull it out, if there's nobody to cut, you cut yourself.' He don't want you to come back with a knife that you done pulled out of the holster and ain't no blood on it. That's pretty much how he controlled us with that weapon thing.[171]

General Rashid's testimony indicates that Legionnaires had to be ready to give their lives and, if necessary, take the lives of others for the revolution. However, that dedication could not be

based in reckless adventurism that would give the U.S. government justification to repress the RNA. New Afrikans had to maintain discipline and discernment with regard to their use of military force. Therefore, crude suggestions like that reported above likely made Legionnaires think carefully about the potential power and danger that came with possessing weapons.

Even with its major emphasis on the potential for combat, the RNA was never just a military apparatus (despite what the FBI and police might have stated). The Legion constituted one aspect of the Provisional Government. The PG-RNA also established several consulates that served as local governing bodies. The chief officer in each city, or the consul, was elected by local New Afrikans and approved by the RNA president. S/he spoke for the Provisional Government, coordinated RNA programming, and ran local RNA activity, including member recruitment, nation-building classes, and tax collection.[172] In fact, before a person could become a New Afrikan citizen, the RNA required that s/he go through nation-building classes.

Brother Bokeba Trice described nation-building classes as sessions that "explained the relationship between land and power… How the land basically produced all of the resources that [New Afrikans] needed to be in control of – to survive as a people." He insisted until "We could get control of the land then We would always be dependent on outside sources for our power."[173] The *Government Administration* handbook contains more detail about the events that likely took place during nation building sessions. First, class facilitators gave prospective citizens an orientation in which they learned about the Provisional Government and the founding documents. Next, potential New Afrikans learned the "History of white atrocities against Black people in the modern era," as narrated by texts like W.E.B. Du Bois's *The World and Africa*, Herbert Aptheker's *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, and Ralph Ginzburg's *100 Years of Lynching*. After becoming oriented with the need for Black liberation,

class members delved deeper into RNA doctrine and philosophy as outlined by Brother Imari's *Revolution and Nation Building* and *War in America*, Malcolm X's "Message to the Grassroots," and reading "materials dealing specifically with the emergence of modern nations (including white racist nations), Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Tanzania, the Congo-Kinshasa, Australia, Cyprus, Israel, Rhodesia, Union of South Africa, Canada, India, China, and Cuba."[174] Such a comprehensive study of contemporary nationalisms prepared students to think critically about their citizenship in the United States.

Finally, instructors taught would-be citizens about how the PG-RNA codified the definition of "New Afrikan." The RNA constitution provided that all African-descended peoples in the U.S. "are deemed to be citizens of the Republic of New Africa unless and until their actions or explicit statements indicate otherwise." Because most African-descended peoples in the United States did not (either by choice or ignorance about the RNA) self-identify as "New Afrikans," RNA members had to find a way to distinguish New Afrikan independence advocates from the Black masses. First and foremost, conscious New Afrikans, or "Citizens of Record," went "through the Government Center's or Consulate's Nation-Building and Orientation Courses." The *Government Administration* handbook delineates a list of behaviors and actions to aid further in this identification process and provide RNA citizens with guidelines for their daily practice. The sections titled "A Clear Understanding of What All Citizens Must Do" and "A Clear Understanding of What the Individual Must Do" list nine responsibilities that include paying taxes, studying RNA literature and current world events, selling and distributing RNA newspapers, and being "a missionary" who carries "out the basic, simple RNA message to all Black people with whom one come[s] in contact." The constitution stipulates that a missionary "must set an example in living up to the New African Creed and in industriousness,

perseverance, constancy, and revolutionary fervor which [s/he] may then rightly expect from other citizens."[175] In sum, nation-building classes provided an opportunity for potential New Afrikans to educate themselves about a range of historical, legal, and sociological topics and to think critically about their status in the United States.

Although New African belonging was based primarily on being of African descent, it at times expanded to include non-African people. As the case of Japanese-descended Yuri Kochiyama illustrates, New Afrikan citizenship should also be understood as a revolutionary identity that sought to include a broad array of oppressed people of color. Sister Yuri, who was a friend of Malcolm X, became a citizen of record in 1969. An ardent supporter of the RNA almost from the moment they declared independence, she agreed with the nation's conceptualization of citizenship as well as its goal of creating an independent nation. She took the oath of citizenship shortly after that right was extended to non-Africans, and she has never renounced her pledge to this day. Sister Yuri's identification as a New Afrikan and other New Afrikans' acceptance of her helps illuminate how the flexibility of the "captive" Black nation's conception of RNA citizenship accommodated other oppressed groups and individual non-Black activists committed to liberation.[176]

If Sister Yuri's RNA citizenship stands as an exception, then Brother Imari Obadele embodied the quintessential New Afrikan. He served the RNA first as Minister of Information and then as a regional vice president before assuming the RNA presidency in 1970. Brother Imari used his various positions during the 1960s and 1970s to pursue RNA independence full time. He became a "New Afrikan Prisoner of War" following the August 18, 1971 shootout and was incarcerated at different times from then until 1981. Even from within various penitentiaries, Brother Imari vigorously studied international law, United States and world

history, and current events, even as he maintained communication with New Afrikans, RNA allies, and U.S. government officials. He dedicated his time and energy to building an independent Black nation and to freeing himself, the RNA-11, and many other Black, Latina/o, and Native American radicals imprisoned for their political activities. During the intermittent periods he was not in prison, Brother Imari traveled across the country raising funds for the RNA-11 and other RNA projects that he worked hard to maintain.[177] One of those projects involved the creation of Municipal Councils, the models for which the PG-RNA borrowed from Native American nations, including the Navajo. New Afrikans reasoned that by developing the Councils, they could qualify for and demand "millions of dollars in Revenue Sharing funds and in Community Development funds."[178]

Chokwe Lumumba, Esq. is another exemplary New Afrikan. He became a conscious New Afrikan citizen in 1969 while still a student at Kalamazoo College in Michigan. During his first year of service to the Black Nation, Lumumba functioned as one of three judges whom Brother Imari credited with preventing the RNA from falling into shambles during the "Constitutional Crisis." He also served as Minister of Justice, and in 1970 constituents elected him vice president of the PG-RNA, a position he held until 1984 when he became chairperson of the newly created New Afrikan Peoples Organization (NAPO). From the moment he committed himself to the Black Nation up to this day, Brother Chokwe has dedicated his legal expertise to serve the New Afrikan Independence Movement. He also helped with the RNA-11 legal case, defended Mutulu Shakur, Fulani Sunni Ali, and Bilal Sunni Ali in the infamous Brinks robbery case, and has served as legal counsel for others. Lumumba later co-founded the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, and in 2009 he ran for councilperson in the Jackson City Council.[179] Lumumba submits that he ran for that position at the behest of his organization, and not for his

own political aspirations. Despite his expressed reluctance to serve as councilperson, his win fits squarely with the long-term strategy developed by Brother Imari and others during the Provisional Government's formation.[180]

Kochiyama, Obadele, and Lumumba signify model citizenship because they have dedicated their lives and careers to New Afrikan Political Science. But as one may imagine, they and other New Afrikans found it difficult to function purely as citizens of the RNA because they remained "captives" in the United States. That perceived captivity, like the imposition of citizenship, provoked a range of reactions from New Afrikans. For example, in May 1975 Brother Imari wrote,

> the United States Government has continued to hold me under an illegal parole, restricting my travel, speech, and associations, and threatening me with re-imprisonment despite my station as a popularly elected Chief of State, lawfully on the territory claimed by the United States.[181]

Even as he projected himself as a head of state, his legal status as an American citizen hindered his ability to fully exercise his perceived political and legal powers.

Numerous other examples also demonstrate how blurred the line between conscious New Afrikans and U.S. citizens could become in practice. I shall now underscore a few of these cases. Sekou Owusu became a conscious citizen of the Republic of New Afrika in 1970 and served as President of the RNA from 2008-2011. Since 1970, he has held several local and national positions within the PG-RNA. Before becoming a conscious New Afrikan, Owusu labored as a draft councilor. In this career, he educated young men about how the U.S. military's draft process works and encouraged them to avoid fighting for the United States in the Vietnam War. In the process, Brother Sekou also learned how to protect himself from forced military service. When called before the U.S. draft board, he successfully stayed out of the military by using a student deferment.

Owusu cites his abstention from U.S. military service as demonstrative of the many choices New Afrikans must make on a regular basis as "dual citizens" of the Republic of New Afrika and the United States.[182] From his vantage point, prospective New Afrikans already operate with that sense of duality by the time they pledge allegiance to the RNA. Some folks – regardless of citizenship allegiance – found ways to completely "drop off the grid" and live outside most U.S. legal boundaries and responsibilities. Brother Sekou, on the other hand, has refrained from taking that freedom for himself, though not that he is unable to. He states, "i cannot just disregard everything according to U.S. citizenship" because "i have no power to exercise… RNA citizenship [fully]." Further, the PG-RNA never acquired the power to offer him complete protection as former President and a conscious citizen of the RNA.[183] However, this state of affairs does not prohibit Owusu from pushing the boundaries that confine him as a dual RNA-US citizen. As concerns an instructive model for circumventing the restrictions of U.S. citizenship, Brother Sekou offers the examples of Brother Imari and a delegation of New Afrikans who, he claimed, visited Libya several years ago by traveling across state borders using RNA-issued passports.[184]

Another example of testing the boundaries of New Afrikan and U.S. citizenship involved "Baba J." from Detroit (now a resident of Houston). At the time of the incident, Baba J. was driving one car in a caravan of New Afrikans traveling through rural Mississippi to visit an elder when they all were pulled over at a police checkpoint. Because Baba J. did not have a state-issued driver's license, he presented authorities with his RNA-issued one. Although the Black police officers at the checkpoint could have given him a hard time for lacking "proper" identification, they instead chatted briefly with the occupants of his car and their fellow travelers, then allowed them all to pass without interference or reprimand.[185]

Brother_D.B. Aammaa Nubyahn provides a counterpoint to the aforementioned enactments of New Afrikan-American duality. In proclaiming "[I am] a United States citizen, but i'm an Afrikan," he distinguishes between his legal citizenship and his racial identity. Brother_D argues that some New Afrikan independence rhetoric is empty because the Provisional Government and its affiliated organizations have not built institutions that provide the sufficient power needed to protect their sovereignty. He considers New Afrikans "delusional to think [they're] free based on declaration alone." By his own admission, he uses U.S. licenses and certificates for legal matters and, when traveling abroad, "will quickly play that [U.S. citizen] card" if necessary. Even within U.S. borders, he has had to "play that card" because of the benefits he receives for doing so. Those benefits include ambulance service in case he needs to be rushed to the hospital in an emergency. "Where is the New Afrikan ambulance?" he asks, insisting that before New Afrikans can talk honestly about independence, they need to take into account all the benefits associated with being "enslaved" by the world's richest slave master.[186] Brother_D's contentions highlight the fact that such societal advantages impact how most conscious New Afrikans' negotiate U.S. society, and they also influence how others view New Afrikans.

Some social movement theorists discuss how non-activists construct the identities of movement participants in terms of "alter versions." Alter versions are "identity constructions of a movement that develop among those outside of a movement, including movement opponents, movement targets, and would-be movement participants."[187] Local newspapers – the RNA's most vocal enemies – proffered unforgiving alter versions of New Afrikan identity. With the blessings and encouragement of the federal government, the *Mississippi Clarion Ledger* strategically challenged every possible aspect of New Afrikan culture, including their free

names, marital status, and self-determined citizenship. For example, when Hekima Ana stood trial for the murder of the police officer who died in the August 18 shootout, Clarion Ledger staff writers often referred to him as "Thomas Edward Norman who prefers his adopted Swahili name of Hekima Ana."[188] Every time they mentioned his partner, Tamu Ana, they referred to her as his "common-law wife" because, though recognized by the RNA, their marriage lacked the legal authorization of a U.S. state government.[189]

On the other hand, some White progressives and leftists offered qualified support to New Afrikans' attempts at exercising self-determination and respected the idea of New Afrikan citizenship. Following the Black Legion's shootout with Detroit police during the New Bethel incident, a group of White Detroiters created a Black Legal Defense Fund "to provide funds for the defense of citizens of the Republic of New Africa." However, Black Legal Defense Fund members did not expect everyone interested in helping their cause to recognize and respect New Afrikan autonomy. They claimed that group membership, "does not imply agreement with the political ideas or program of the defendants."[190]

The malleability and uneven application/imposition of U.S. citizenship demonstrates at least two basic problems that New Afrikans have yet to resolve fully. First, as scholarly literature demonstrates, the conceptualization and practice of U.S. citizenship are not static, but evolve based on several interdependent factors, including domestic and international politics, U.S. constitutional amendments, demographic shifts, and changing functions of national government.[191] For Africans in the United States, economic factors weave a major cord that tethers Black Americans to their ever-changing status over time. More specifically, their forced migration and enslavement, the denial of their citizenship rights, and the legal and de facto social

provisions that have denied their full participation and protection under the law are all intimately entangled with their oppressor's ability to earn a profit.

Second, New Afrikans' theoretical foundation exhibits marked limitations due to the RNA's exclusive focus on Afrikans enslaved in the south, elision of Afrikans enslaved in the north, and notable omission of liminally positioned Black men and women in both regions. Including this precariously situated "quasi-free" group in their analysis would permit them to see the deep-running racism at the root of U.S. citizenship, and may prompt New Afrikan theoreticians to question the various ways that the very concept of citizenship itself operates as a tool oppression. As the citizenship of Yuri Kochiyama demonstrates, the RNA has already made practical steps toward redefining citizenship in broader terms than their theory and rhetoric suggests. In fact, their creation of a revolutionary/Third World identity has allowed New Afrikans to empower themselves in important ways, including building solidarity with other oppressed people of color.

New Afrikan Identity & Third World Liberation

The RNA's identification as a colonized nation prompts its citizens to form alliances with peoples who claim their land was stolen or unjustly occupied by an imperial force, thereby compelling them to seek sovereignty, restitution, and/or independence. The PG-RNA states in its "Code of Umoja":

> It shall be the policy of the Provisional Government to recognize the just claims of the American Indian nations and other oppressed nations for land in North America. It shall be the policy of the [P]rovisional Government to negotiate with the American Indian Nations the claims which conflict with the claims of the New Afrikan nation and to resolve these claims in the spirit of justice, brotherhood, and mutual revolutionary commitment to the human and natural rights of all oppressed nations in North America.[192]

Given New Afrikans' self-identification as "paper-citizens" of the United States, it comes as no surprise that the RNA "Declaration of Independence," "Creed," and other such documents emphasize New Afrikans' respect for and support of other oppressed groups' right to self-determination and struggles for liberation in the United States and abroad. As indicated in the passage cited from the "Code of Umoja," New Afrikans are especially pressed to make negotiations with indigenous nations whose claims to land precede those of the RNA.

As part of their recognition of American Indians' struggles and just demands, the RNA has often used precedents set by treaties between Native Americans and the United States to argue for New Afrikan liberation and to strategize ways to create New Communities within the bounds of U.S. law.[193] Periodicals like the New Afrikan Journal occasionally ran sympathetic articles reporting on the historical and contemporary struggles Native Americans have faced. In one notable article, the author detailed various ways that the Bureau of Indian Affairs curtailed the sovereignty and self-determination of Native Americans through its policies on elections, education, and reservations. Characterizing their struggles as "war," the author sought to draw parallels between Native American and New Afrikan battles against their common oppressor.[194] Further, evidence suggests that the Minister of Foreign Affairs and other PG-RNA officers made some effort to initiate concrete dialogues and negotiations with Native Americans with regard to New Afrikans' anticipated acquisition of land in the five states. For example, The D.C. Unit of the Provisional Government issued a statement supporting "the Liberation Struggle of the indigenous peoples of North America" and proclaiming Afrikan and Native people "shall dwell on the land in prosperity and harmony."[195] The amount of solidarity work actually carried out between the PG-RNA and Native Americans has yet to be determined.

Similarly, RNA activists and Puerto Rican liberation fighters have had at least some contact and show of solidarity. RNA articles exclaiming "Free Puerto Rico!" and praising the actions of people such as Marie Torres, Oscar Collazo, and Lolita Lebron, litter New Afrikan publications. One article lists the various actions Puerto Ricans carried out in the name of independence. What is more, the article expresses solidarity by detailing the repressive actions committed against Puerto Rican liberationists, and once again drawing parallels between New Afrikan liberation and global revolution against imperialism, especially that committed by the United States.[196]

The RNA vocally supported many other struggles for self-determination and independence since its founding in 1968. Even though New Afrikans' penchant for thinking of their own liberation in terms of global revolution fits squarely with the mood of the Black Power era, this tendency's nuances distinguishes it from the objectives of the RNA's contemporaries. New Afrikans believed a worldwide revolution against colonialism, imperialism, and White supremacy would shift both the world economic structure and the very organization of United States society. Though their solutions to race relations, poverty, education, and many other issues fell within the spectrum of socialist perspectives popular at the time, New Afrikans diverged from their contemporaries insofar as they rejected inclusion within American society. Instead, they argued that Black Power could only be achieved when New Afrikan people controlled their own sovereign and independent territory, the Republic of New Afrika.

Conclusion

My examination of the RNA's ideology provided a basic understanding of New Afrikan Political Science. In addition, it also offered readers a deeper comprehension of how the RNA both fits within and expands the prevailing discourse about the Black Power era. Not only does

the RNA demand scholars to consider the period's goals in more depth, but also New Afrikans' philosophies and activism are indicative of the alternative renditions of Black Power put forth by the era's broad array of activists. Alongside the rhetoric of guns and scientific socialism, participants in the Black Power movement engaged in serious discussions about their very place in society, including whether or not African people should consider themselves citizens of the United States. The RNA's answer to that question guided and justified their struggle for independence, influenced with whom they formed alliances, and determined to a major degree how they approached the attainment of their goals. Indeed, New Afrikans' conviction that the actualization of their revolution depended on their ability to gain recognition within the United Nations highlights a dimension of the Black Power movement that has heretofore received little, if any, scholarly attention.

New Afrikans' determination to attain Black Power guided the practice of their theory. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, living New Afrikan ideology presented limitations due to the RNA's longstanding and ongoing "captivity." In other words, New Afrikan citizens' attempts to enact political autonomy were bound by the laws of the United States. Although they could not fully exercise RNA citizenship, New Afrikans employed various methods to empower themselves. One such procedure involved their identification as a diasporic Afrikan nation that existed as part of the Third World. This identification encouraged New Afrikans to forge alliances with other oppressed groups. In addition to the efforts aimed at securing independence outlined in this chapter, New Afrikans also operationalized more mundane tactics to empower themselves. The next two chapters explore those approaches to empowerment by elaborating New Afrikans' lifestyle politics.

Chapter 4 – Evolutionary Onomastics: New Afrikan Name Choices, Self-Definition, and Self-Determination

It seems that the Afro-American tradition of bestowing meaningful names on children has gone full circle. Original African names that were taken away by slavemasters [sic] are returning in increasing numbers with the conscious reaffirmation of Afro-American culture, the result of Black people's newly revived pride in their genetic and cultural roots.

– Sheila S. Walker[197]

The naming ceremony in which Richard Trice participated began with a libation. To perform this rite, Imari Obadele spoke the names of powerful predecessors and probably invited other participants to call on the names of their forebears. Brother Imari then poured water either onto the ground or into a plant between the chanting of each name and at other points in the procedure. After the completion of this ritual, Brother Imari endowed each attending new cadre with a name. He and other leaders selected names for recently enlisted New Afrikans based on the qualities they noticed in each individual as s/he went through nation-building classes. At fifteen-years-old, Trice became Bokeba Wantu Enjuenti, an appellation that signifies "one who struggled for a beautiful nation." By accepting this given name, Trice acknowledged its symbolism as a departure from his former existence and his commitment to the new life "of an African revolutionary." To end the ceremony, Bokeba and his cohort each took a sip from the unity cup and chanted "Harambee" in unison seven times, thus signifying the importance of pulling individuals together in service to their larger group. At the conclusion of the formal service, Afrikan drummers sent rhythmic messages to participants and guests who enjoyed food and fellowship in celebration of this newly committed group of New Afrikan freedom fighters.[198]

New Afrikan Political Science stipulates that before the Black Nation can achieve self-determination and independence, each of its citizens must undergo a transformation into a true

New Afrikan. Part of that transformation includes internalizing New Afrikan ideas and theories and developing independent thought that embraces self-determination rather than assimilation into the dominant society. The praxis of being New Afrikan presents itself in various aspects of RNA activists' daily lives, including name choices. A name change, like that described by Brother Bokeba, serves as an outward display of the internal process that individuals experience when they commit themselves to the mission of Black liberation. The naming ceremony was a public "graduation" that the PG-RNA hosted regularly (monthly in the early days of the Detroit consulate) to celebrate its growing cadre and to present them to the broader Black community.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Black people across the United States engaged in discourses about their African heritage and debated whether or how their ancestry should inform their present lives. Along with clothing, hair, and relationships within families and communities, the topic of nomenclature proved popular. More so, the practice of naming proliferated during the Black Power era. Following a long tradition of choosing designations that provide African Americans – as individuals and as a collectivity – with a sense of self-determination, Black Power-era naming practices sought to distinguish Africans and their descendants in America from the broader society. Through their name choices, Black people sought to reconcile their African heritages with their "new world" realities. New Afrikans who shed their "slave names" exhibited a consciousness that recognized the ancestral connections and (neo) colonial conditions they shared, to some extent, with Africans worldwide, all while remaining attentive to the specificities of their local political conditions.

This chapter examines New Afrikan onomastics, or naming practices. Recognizing the value that Africans in the United States placed on reclaiming their ancestral identity during the 1960s and 1970s, I demonstrate that, for New Afrikans, name selection comprised one of the

most basic exhibitions of self-determination and empowerment that they enacted in the quotidian aspects of their lives. Here, I build on the previous chapter's delineation of New Afrikan Political Science (NAPS) and RNA conceptualizations of citizenship to discuss how and why some New Afrikans perceived assuming an "Afrikan name" as an external manifestation of internal, "cognitive liberation" from American hegemony.[199] At the same time, I also explore the reasons some New Afrikans maintained their "slave names" and the significance those decisions held for them. Throughout this chapter, I employ the term "Afrikan name" to denote those either adapted from or inspired by African languages and cultures and/or Arabic. The term "slave name" typically indicates an appellation given to an enslaved person by the enslaver and/or in the tradition of the slaveholder's culture. I use "slave name" here to reference European designations originally forced upon bonded Africans or taken by Africans in their attempts to protect themselves from violence and discrimination during and after chattel slavery.[200] Slave names intentionally cut their bearers off from former kin and ethnic ties. Many slaveholders denigrated enslaved people through naming, either by the nature/process in which designations were given or because actual names themselves intended to insult the bearer.[201]

I begin my analysis with a brief exploration of the literature on African American onomastics. From there, I discuss the Black Power era resurgence of critical discussion regarding Black people's names. Beginning with Malcolm X/El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz and the Nation of Islam (NOI), this chapter reminds readers of how and why the topic of shedding European names entered the dialogic terrain of Black nationalist discourse during the 1960s. I then shift attention to New Afrikans by allowing them to tell in their own words the stories of their name choice experiences. Based on eighteen interviews with fourteen men and four women of diverse economic and environmental backgrounds, the personal narratives presented in this

chapter reveal the variety of approaches New Afrikans employed to replace their European names with Afrikan ones, the significance of assuming an Afrikan name, and the ways that name modification symbolized a larger process of self-transformation. RNA activists' adoption of nomenclature different from that assigned to them at birth usually occurred after a significant period of study and struggle and indicated an advancement in their political evolution, which could extend over an indefinite period. Yet, as the personal narratives disclose, not all New Afrikans decided to take on an Afrikan name or alter the designation accorded them at birth. I elaborate the reasons why some RNA citizens elected to keep their "slave" names. Finally, I analyze the meanings of various personal names and the group moniker "New Afrikan" in order to highlight the diasporic nature of New Afrikan identity and consciousness. The collective designation "New Afrikan" and many RNA activists' individual appellations conveyed the idea that citizens constituted an Afrikan nation distinct from, though connected with, African-descended people in other regions of the world. Conscious citizens saw their struggle for independence as part of a broader revolution that would liberate African people and the Third World more broadly. With this chapter, I seek to leave readers with a new understanding of how the personal and the political intersect in activists' lives and the long-term outcomes experienced by participants in social movements. A name choice comprised one of the most basic and mundane aspects of lifestyle politics, one that reminds us that revolutionary activism is a comprehensive process that transforms individual people even as they struggle to transform their world.

Although the logic behind name changes seems simple – Black people wanted to psychologically rid themselves of their oppressors' cultural practices and identify more closely with their ancestors – this survey of New Afrikans' resolutions to alter or maintain their official

appellations demonstrates the complexity of the naming issue. The decision to take on or give an Afrikan name indicates RNA activists' desire to associate with a distinct African identity whose prevailing features remained bound and suppressed within the United States. Put differently, the act of taking on an Afrikan name comprised one act of self-determination in a broader process of decolonization. Even when cloaked in religious rhetoric and symbolism, name choices indicated a deep-seated disapproval of African people's forced migration to the "New World," enslavement, and political and economic oppression with the advent of legal equality with the dominant racial group. Though not the sole indicator of, or even a necessary step towards, New Afrikan identity and consciousness, the adoption of Afrikan names represents the most obvious manifestation of that process and is among the most insightful. This chapter, then, posits denominating as one of the most basic and fundamental actions carried out by New Afrikans in their broader pursuit of individual and group self-determination through revolutionary activism.

What's in A Name?: Onomastics and African History in the United States

The literature on African American name choices forms a dynamic and useful field of study that proffers scholars the opportunity to thoroughly explore African people's history in the United States via avenues that heretofore remain largely uninvestigated. In addition to attracting the attention of scholars from across several disciplines, onomastic studies cover an impressive range of issues. Several texts focus on the appellations people choose for themselves and their children, the various reasons people select certain designations, and where and how specific adopted names originated. These texts discuss the conscious and unconscious motives behind naming and whether or how the names influence bearers' personalities and ambitions.[202] Many other studies center on African Americans' history and the correlation between enslavement and African descendants' names. Such analyses highlight how enslavers deployed nomenclature to

cut Africans off from their former kin ties and African ethnicities, as well as to assert control over their human property.[203] They also pinpoint ways that Africans used denominations from their earliest moments in the Western world to both assimilate into the dominant culture and to create a unique designations that emphasized individuality and Africaneity while establishing new kinship bonds.[204] Some scholarly literature on Black naming traditions draws attention to African cultural retentions in American culture.[205] Further, some scholars have begun researching the large numbers of African Americans who consciously looked toward Africa for inspiration in their naming practices during the 1960s and 1970s.[206] I engage and build on this body of literature as it helps provide the historical context for comprehending New Afrikan practices of naming during the Black Power era.

The sheer volume of scholarship that analyzes names from myriad cultures of various times, places, and spaces indicates that humans value names. More than just labels that identify one individual from another, names often represent a "verbal signal of [a person's] whole identity, his [or her] being-in-the-world as a distinct person."[207] A name may identify one's class status, region of origin, and date of birth. An appellation also potentially equates to a person's spiritual essence and connects him or her to ancestors. On a psychological level, personal designations communicate positive and negative connotations that affect self-esteem and personal development.[208]

In political struggles for Black liberation, names garnered particular important because of the context in which most African Americans came to inherit their personal and family names. Beginning in the seventeenth century, slave traders forcibly brought captive Africans to what is now the United States. After being stolen from their families, sold and shipped like cargo across the Atlantic Ocean, and sometimes held over in the Caribbean, the enslaved endured owners

marking them as subhuman partially through de-naming and re-naming. Europeans often sold an individual numerous times, usually renaming that person with each sale. Historian Sterling Stuckey argues that the acts of stripping enslaved people of their personal names and saddling them with unfamiliar – and often denigrating – ones produced traumatic psychological changes in bonds people and revealed the absolute spite with which European slave owners viewed them. In discussing the implications of denying an entire people their group names, Stuckey claims that "the act of denying a whole people their names and giving them new ones in a new language – and only partial names at that [as they did not typically receive last names] – must be regarded as a serious act of aggression, as a reflection of their subordinate state."[209] Both enslaved and "free" Africans were acutely aware of this violent arrangement.

The U.S. Black population combated this forced renaming through a variety of self-determined onomastic practices. Some enslaved people were known to use secret names and pet epithets when away from the presence of authorities, and many of them gave their children dignified names that they associated with powerful and/or religious figures. Africans who were not enslaved but lived in a legal and social liminality that could easily lead to (re)enslavement enacted a more formal process of onomastic resistance. Often given abbreviated versions of common European names such as Will and Tom for men and Jen and Sari for women, Africans and their descendants frequently changed their names to William and Thomas or Jennifer and Sarah, upon gaining "freedom." Historian Ira Berlin suggests that in such situations renaming symbolized "personal liberation and political defiance; it reversed the enslavement process and confirmed the free Negro's newly won liberty just as the loss of an African name had earlier symbolized enslavement." Further, many emancipated Blacks adopted last names they deemed significant, including "Freeman," "Washington," and many others.[210] Interestingly, some

African names (especially Sambo) reminded liminally positioned Black folk of derisive slave names. With the exception of Cuffee (in all of its various spellings), African names waned as Black people sought social equality within the dominant culture that surrounded them. However, African appellations and naming practices did not lose their significance altogether. Instead, as Joseph L. Dillard explains, Africans in the United States applied their traditional customs to European nomenclature.[211] Simply put, Black people understood that the meanings signified by designations accorded to enslaved people by slaveholders indicated the significance of the politics of name choices in the procedural attempt to dehumanize Africans and their descendants. Never passive bystanders in this process, Africans (enslaved and "free") resisted their oppressors and asserted their humanity through their own naming practices.

Although my brief survey of Black onomastic history focuses on personal names, struggles also took place at the level of group titles and place designations. These struggles did not end with the abolition of chattel slavery; instead, self-determined denominating continued through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century during which names became prominent features of liberation at various moments. The lessons of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries set the stage for a conflict that continued into the Black Power era and beyond.

For Black activists during the 1960s and 1970s, these lessons made several issues clear. First, Africans and other people from various racial and cultural groups believed that a name embodied the very essence of one's being and aligned a person with his or her ancestors. Europeans intentionally stripped enslaved Africans of their ancestral names in order to render them into dehumanized and depersonalized chattel detached from their genealogical identity and to control their thoughts and actions. Second, Black Power activists comprehended this process of dehumanization, depersonalization, and domination as an act of aggression and thus one

aspect of the war in which they engaged as soldiers. Third, as part of their strategy to combat filial estrangement and oppression, Africans' name choices were central to how they affirmed their humanity and maintained ancestral ties with their forebears.[212]

In the remainder of this chapter, I elaborate the three aforementioned points in order to expand historians' knowledge and understanding of the Black Power era's political culture. At a moment when African Americans questioned their relationship with the African diaspora and consciously chose to embrace various aspects of African cultures rather than assimilate into mainstream America, taking on an Afrikan name empowered both individuals and the larger collective. For many New Afrikans and other Black Power activists, the process of abandoning a European name for an Afrikan one occassioned a critical juncture in the development of their Black racial identity and indicated their acceptance of a nationalist or Pan-Africanist political ideology. Two of the questions I address here are: Why did African Americans come "full circle" to embrace Afrikan names during the 1960s? What was the significance of this onomastic shift? The following section explores the personal and political relevance of Black Power-era activists' name choices.

Prodigal Children: The NOI's Influence on Name Choices During the Black Power Era

[Y]our number in prison became a part of you. You never hear your name, only your number. On all of your clothing, every item, was your number, stenciled. It grew stenciled on your brain.
– El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz[213]

Shabazz's statement about his prison number parallels how many of his contemporaries understood their own personal and family names. The process of programming prison inmates – slaves according to the Thirteenth Amendment of the U.S. *Constitution* – to identify with their prison number corresponded with the seasoning enslaved Africans underwent during their transformation into legal chattel. After realizing that oppressive conditions facilitated his path to

prison and obtaining that number, Malcolm rejected his former (enslaved) self and embraced the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. In *Message to the Blackman in America*, Muhammad urged that so-called Negroes "be given names of [their] forefathers whose names are the most Holy and Righteous Names of Allah" and insisted "that resolving [their] identity is one of the first and most important truths to be established by God, Himself."[214] Malcolm X sought his "Holy and Righteous Name" as he worked tirelessly to help other African Americans understand their mental enslavement so that they, like him, could reject it. His Black Power era ideological descendants also strove to resolve their identities and searched for their "Holy and Righteous Name[s]" in noticeable quantities.

The Nation of Islam played an important role in helping many young African Americans develop their political consciousness during the 1950s and 1960s. It was the most influential African American organization to draw clear connections between the political and spiritual properties of names and to call for a rejection of "slave names." Malcolm X played an especially pivotal role in the formation of Black political activism during this era because of the sheer number of people who considered themselves "disciples" of his praxis. His own personal transformations, as recollected in his speeches and in his posthumously published autobiography, provided his political progeny a model of evolutionary change to identify with as they underwent their own self-transformations.

In 1952, Malcolm Little exchanged of his slave surname for the letter "X" to symbolize his transition from a mentally "enslaved" Negro to a Black man. His adoption of the "X" signified a dual recognition of his unknown ancestral name and his departure from a previous life of criminality. At the time, Malcolm had just finished serving time in prison for a number of robbery convictions compounded by his sexual relationship with a white woman. His decision to

drop his slave name from his identity indicated that he also gave up his former existence, which led him to the prison cell he previously occupied. Instead of engaging in theft, gambling, and drugs, Malcolm X pursued "knowledge of self" and served Allah's will through his commitment to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and the NOI. Perhaps more importantly, he adhered to the belief that his slave name, like his previous lifestyle, rendered him subservient to the will of "the white man." Malcolm's attainment of his "X" also symbolized his decision to become an independent thinker who would help Black people gain their liberation.[215]

Malcolm's experience with naming encompassed much more time and space than his incarceration or experience in the Nation of Islam. As a child growing up in Michigan, Malcolm remembered being called "nigger" and "Rastus" by his White teachers and classmates. As a hustler in Boston and Harlem, he earned such nicknames as "Detroit Red." While in Charlestown State Prison, other prisoners referred to the malevolent inmate as "Satan" before Malcolm underwent a personal transformation and flirted with calling himself "Malachi Shabazz." Even though his "X" endures in history and public memory, some of his Nigerian associates endowed him with the name "Omowale," and he finally accepted the name "El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz" before assassins took his life.[216] All of the names mentioned here marked significant periods in Shabazz's life and represented some of his most meaningful personal transformations. The transformations took on even more significance due to Shabazz's positioning as someone from a historically oppressed group who decided to reclaim and redefine his identity on his own terms.

Religious or spiritual reasons rank toward the top of the list of why people change their names. Whether they searched through the Hebrew Scriptures or studied the NOI, people altered their personal designations and rejected their surnames in response to what they interpreted

through their religious faith and/or spiritual intuition as a Higher calling.[217] Malcolm X provides an interesting example of this tendency. Although all the various monikers he assumed or received during different stages of his life signified his growth and evolution, the name he assumed as an NOI convert is exceptional, primarily because of the NOI ideology on which it rests. Reiterating Elijah Muhammad's assertion, the NOI believed that maintaining slave names kept African people mentally colonized and prevented them from distinguishing themselves from Europeans by nomenclature, culture, and socioeconomic interest.[218]

The NOI required prospective members to submit letters to Muhammad expressing their desire to reclaim their heritage and religion. The person writing each correspondence requested that Muhammad give him or her an "Original name." Members of the NOI scrutinized these letters and, upon approval, furnished the person requesting membership with an "X." The "X" stood in for the person's unidentified Original name, which s/he could only receive from Allah. Therefore, the "X" represented a liminal space between one's former slave name and Original name.[219]

Another top-ranking factor in Black activists' adoption of a new appellation was reuniting with any obtainable portions of their African ancestry. According to Minister Malcolm, "The devil white man cut [enslaved Africans] off from any knowledge of their own language, religion, and past culture until the black man in America was the earth's only race who had absolutely no knowledge of their true identity" and "that no longer even knew their true family names."[220] If the loss of people's knowledge of their past symbolized and reified dehumanization and oppression, then regaining that knowledge accomplished a crucial aspect of empowerment and a significant step in the process of liberation.

The personal experiences of NOI members and El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz followed what Black psychologist William C. Cross identified in 1971 as the "Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience." In Cross's original model and its various revisions, he claimed African Americans underwent various evolutionary phases (or fit into various identity clusters), each of which represented a stage of psychological development in their progression towards embracing their Blackness. One extreme phase is the pre-encounter, which includes the total acceptance of everything European and the denial of racism's impact on African Americans. In contrast, the internalization identity cluster involves a nuanced analysis of European/Western hegemony. In between the two aforementioned stages lies what Cross termed the immersion/emersion identity cluster. This juncture is particularly important because it constitutes the point at which a "convert" undergoes an extreme identity change and embraces all things African or Black. A person in this identity cluster often decides to take on a new name as s/he attempts to disassociate from European culture. In this context, name changes represent that critical moment in the Negro-to-Black conversion experience during which the individual accepts fully an identity s/he has determined for his or her self.[221]

Several Black Power activists – including many who considered themselves disciples of their fallen leader (Shabazz) – rationalized name changes according to a logic that paralleled Cross's explanatory model. As one member of the Us Organization told a *Newsweek* reporter, although "'With some people it's just a fad… with most it's a step along the way to consciousness and understanding of self.'"[222] That reasoning resonated with more than just activists; African people in the United States and abroad found it important to reject the monikers they received in the context of oppression in favor of sobriquets (and often legally-changed names) that projected their connections with their real and/or imagined ancestors.

Ghanaian novelist and critical essayist Ayi Kwei Armah also articulated such logic behind shedding European names. In his renowned novel *Two Thousand Seasons*, he wrote

> It is the white men's wish to take us from our way – ah, we ourselves are so far already from our way – to move us on to their road; to void us of our soul and put their spirit, the worship of their creature god, in us… They say it will be reward enough when we have lost our way completely, lost even our names; when you will call your brother not Olu but John, not Kofi but Paul; and our sisters will no longer be Ama, Naita, Idawa and Ningome but creatures called Cecilia, Esther, Mary, Elizabeth and Christina... The white men want us to obliterate our remembrance of our way, the way, and in its place to follow their road, road of destruction…[223]

The ideas expressed by Armah's novel, the NOI, and Shabazz found their way into the rhetoric and lived experiences of Black Power movement activists who sought to liberate Black people from all inklings of European cultural and political domination. Understanding themselves as African people rather than Negroes or simply Americans, these women and men carried on the legacy of resistance that their ancestors first put into practice.

New Afrikan Naming Practices

Consciously building on this legacy and attempting to put Shabazz's teachings into practice, New Afrikans provide some excellent representations of how Black Power activists used their name choices to resist cultural and political domination. Within the realm of anthroponyms and surnames, they elected an array of options that confirmed, yet complicated, the value of taking on Afrikan names. More importantly, they demonstrate that the process of establishing how to be called by others demonstrated an important aspect of resisting White hegemony. Though altering one's appellation might seem minute, for New Afrikans, such modifications echoed larger arguments regarding Black people's right to choose their own nationality after being properly informed about why and how to make that choice.

This section explores the entanglement of broader strategies for self-determination and the processes of coming to Afrikan names. New Afrikans' name choices signified RNA

activists' pride in their ancestral heritage and their desire to obtain New Afrikan liberation. Here, I also highlight New Afrikans who decided not to replace their slave names with Afrikan ones as well as the reasons why some people had their Afrikan names revoked. The varying methods by which RNA citizens fashioned distinct appellations for themselves provide lenses through which scholars can examine the significance gender brings to bear on activists' political work as it intersects with their personal lives and the different views activists held about their legitimacy as revolutionaries.

During the Black Power era, various individuals and groups contemplated the proper identity African Americans should assume. Among these activists, Stokely Carmichael considered all Black people Africans, and maintained that no strategy seeking territorial independence by procuring land stolen from "the Red man" could be revolutionary. During the early 1970s, he took on the first name Kwame in honor of Ghanaian head of state, Kwame Nkrumah. He also adapted Ture from the last name of Guinea President Sékou Touré.[224] Although some people shared Ture's opinion on African American identity and Black independence, Queen Mother Moore, the Obadeles, Maulana Karenga, and many others who created the RNA contended that African Americans were no longer "African" in the geographic and strict cultural sense of the term. Living as a "minority" within another nation for so long led Black people in the United States to develop practices formed from an amalgamation African cultural retentions, acculturation under European hegemony, and life in a new land that made it difficult for them to identify completely with continental African societies. What is more, nations and cultures in Africa had also evolved since the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, in many instances partially due to the forces of colonialism. In contrast to activists like Ture, RNA leaders argued that African Americans should identify as "New Afrikans," a

people who, though racially black or African, embodied a republic distinct from other African nations, and certainly different from the body politic constituted by their Anglo American counterparts.[225] As part of this understanding of New Afrikan identity, RNA citizens were encouraged to shed their slave names in favor of Afrikan ones.

RNA documentation contains an array of ideas that illustrate the PG-RNA's flexibility on formal designations. In a letter Brother Gaidi sent to citizens during the Constitutional Crisis of 1970, he requested that people reply and provided spaces for respondents to write in both their "slave names" and "Traditional Names."[226] In addition, the "Adult Application for the R.N.A." furnished lines for one's "Assumed Name" as well as "Slave Name."[227] RNA citizens were encouraged to change their names to symbolize their New Afrikan identities and many of them did. However, some New Afrikans chose to hold on to the appellations given to them at birth for legal and sentimental purposes and others concluded that assuming an Afrikan name was not necessary. That the PG-RNA made space in printed documents for both kinds of names underscores the diversity of opinion amongst New Afrikans on the topic of nomenclature.

Choosing A Name

For New Afrikans who decided to adopt an Afrikan name, the process was as multifaceted and diverse as New Afrikans themselves. However, two major trends predominated: receiving names from elders or respected community members and finding new monikers in books created for that purpose. Herman and Iyaluua Ferguson both received names from Baba Oserjiman Adefunmi, a Yoruba priest and co-founder of the Provisional Government.[228] They were presented with the names Adekoye and Iyaluua Akinwole at separate times during naming ceremonies. Although Iyaluua decided to use her Afrikan name regularly, Herman felt that he should refrain from employing his. He recalls,

> I felt that there was a wave of name changes. A lot of things were happening back in those days that were [cultural] nationalism. And i didn't consider myself a cultural nationalist. My idea of a nationalist was purely and fully political. And there were certain political tasks that i felt should be required of any person before they are allowed to change their name. I felt that using a name, that the person who took that name had achieved a certain status… they had earned that right.[229]

Baba Herman's distinction between "cultural" nationalism and "political" nationalism illustrates a point of contention debated by Black activists beginning in the mid-1960s, as various groups and individuals made similar differentiations between their theories and strategies for Black liberation. The distinctions represented fundamentally divergent views about the best methods Black people should apply to achieve their goals. On the one hand, cultural nationalists – often represented by Maulana Karenga and the Us Organization – argued, "We must free ourselves culturally before we can succeed politically." In other words, African people in the United States had to undergo a process of mental decolonization before they could wage a successful revolution against White supremacy and oppression. Because ideological leaders, such as Karenga claimed "'The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction,'" some of their contemporaries perceived cultural nationalists as neglecting grassroots organizing. Historian Scot Brown suggests that the relatively small membership of Us contributed to that perception, but also points out that many cultural nationalists did indeed participate in the more visible aspects of political organizing.[230]

On the other hand, political (or revolutionary) nationalists – represented primarily by the Black Panther Party – claimed to be more concerned with addressing the concrete political conditions that left Black people susceptible to oppression. Former Panther David Hilliard wrote,

> We call our position "revolutionary nationalism," as opposed to "cultural nationalism," which limits the struggle for self-determination to appearances – dashikis, African names, talk about "new nationhood" and the black nation […] We say we won't free ourselves

> through steeping ourselves in an African past and folklore but by aligning ourselves with other liberation fighters, movements that have won their freedom through political armed struggle. *We are about gaining economic and political freedom; after that, worry about what you call yourself.*[231]

Some revolutionary nationalists argued that liberation should be immersed in some form of socialist politics. According to Huey P. Newton, anything other than a socialist perspective would cause potential revolutionaries to be reactionary, thus prompting them to replace one oppressive regime with another. He stated,

> Cultural nationalism, or pork chop nationalism, as I sometimes call it, is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction instead of responding to political oppression. Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists. Papa Doc in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He's against anything other than Black, which on the surface seems very good, but for him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends.[232]

Such differences in theoretical perspective sometimes led people from opposing viewpoints to enmity. The most popular example of the antagonisms that formed around these ideological differences was the Black Panther Party–Us rivalry that culminated in the deaths of Panthers Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins, as well as the arrests and convictions of Us members George and Larry Watani Stiner. I should point out that political differences alone were not enough to cause this bout of violence and provoke other brutal episodes. FBI instigation, preexisting turf battles between members of both organizations, and many other elements contributed to the severe deterioration of the US-Panther dispute and similar situations.[233]

Some Black Power-era activists deemed it wise to combine the tactics and ideologies of cultural and political nationalism. The House of Umoja, the New York Black Panther Party, the Afrikan Peoples Party, and Amiri Baraka's Congress of African People, among other formations,

either argued explicitly for or practiced elements from both tendencies. In fact, as Langston Hughes, W.E.B. Du Bois, Angela Davis, Larry Neal, and several Black Arts participants contended before and during the Black Power era, culture – especially as operationalized by an oppressed group to undermine its oppressor (and the reverse is also true) – is inherently political.[234]

Herman Ferguson's stance on who deserved to use an Afrikan name evidences another important dimension of the nomenclature issue. During the 1960s and 1970s, Black people of all political persuasions took on names that signified their connections with their ancestors, reflected their socio-political ideals, and/or illustrated some aspects of their spiritualities. Although one may like to believe that most of those active in political struggle remained steadfast in their beliefs, there were certainly activists who stood in an insincere – and sometimes outright fraudulent – relation to the ideals put forth by the groups and organizations in which they participated. Some men and women may have been attracted solely to the "revolutionary chic" associated with Black Power politics and culture. Others became involved as informants at the behest of local and national legal authorities (see chapter 6). In fact, one of the people to whom Yoruba priest Baba Oserjiman gave a name supplied information about Ferguson to the FBI and testified against him in court. Therefore, it should not come as too much of a surprise that Ferguson deemed it necessary for participants to prove their dedication to the movement before using Afrikan designations. Yet, due to the fact that Ferguson closely associated with El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, involved himself with the Revolutionary Action Movement, co-founded the PG-RNA, and served as a target of several repressive actions from the 1960s into the 1990s, it is difficult to understand why he did not think he "earned" the right to use his name Afrikan name, Adekoye, which indicates one has valor or courage.[235]

The themes of honor and proving oneself worthy of an Afrikan name also found their way into the life of Dr. Njeri Jackson, whose New Afrikan husband hi-jacked a plane to Cuba in 1971. Recalling with sentimental delight the day she received her name from a group of children during a Kwanzaa festival, she stated

> Michael [Finney] hijacked a plane in October and in December when We were having a Kwanzaa Festival – i made a dress that was red, black, and green. The fabric was this really beautiful kinda woven fabric… And it was long and down to my feet. It seems that whenever i have to deal with crisis i resort to the other side of my brain. And at that festival, at that time, there was a school – now talk about activities – i don't know if it was really run by RNA… They asked me what my name was, and i said Melanie. And the teacher told the children, 'well, We need to give Melanie an Afrikan name.' And she asked the children what name did they pick. And the children, they talked about who i was and how i was the wife of a warrior. And so the kids had been studying a lot of – there were a lot of naming books out in the late '60s. And so the children gave me the name. They said, 'We want her to be Njeri, one deserving of a warrior.' And because the children named me, i took it, and i kept it… So i'm Njeri that's it. I *take* my name.

It is important to note that before being named by the children, Jackson was content with her given name, Melanie. According to Jackson, although her mother of German and Irish ancestry did not know it at the time, "Melanie" is a Hebrew name that signifies "black." She maintained,

> And my mama didn't know that she was doing that. She named me after Melanie [Hamilton] in *Gone With the Wind* 'cause Melanie was such a sweet soul. And she also had seen it in *Life Magazine* or something. And so she named me Melanie. And i didn't know my name meant Black. When i was in high school, i had a substitute English teacher. He said, 'oh, Melanie. Very interesting. Do you know that that means black?' That works for me.[236]

That the children gave Jackson an Afrikan appellation she kept and continues to use speaks to the communal significance of names for some of the people who were entrenched in the New Afrikan community. People like Jackson believed that by taking on an Afrikan name, they connected with their immediate communities and their global counterparts, past and present.

As the following examples demonstrate, not everyone who became a conscious RNA citizen or who established intimate relationships with New Afrikans thought it necessary to

change their name, although to some, "it was pretty much customary."[237] While people like Herman Ferguson believed it pertinent to fulfill some prerequisite conditions in order to earn an Afrikan name, others simply remained content with the designations given by their parents. I would like to restate and emphasize that the RNA never stipulated that New Afrikans shed their slave names. In fact, former RNA president Marilyn Killingham refused to get rid of her birth name. She opined that

> Marilyn is a derivative of Mary and my mother's name was Mary. And she changed the 'y' to 'i' and added –lyn. She's an African warrior and i'm named after her. And i guess Mary – if Jesus was Black then i guess [his mother] Mary would have to be too.[238]

Killingham did not indicate whether she gave any critical thought to the original names of "Jesus" and his mother "Mary," even though much evidence demonstrates the mother and son would not have been known during their time by the designations people currently use to refer to them.[239] However, her justification for holding on to her given name is significant because it highlights the reasoning of activists who valued their inheritance of appellations shared by people who made significant contributions to the lives of others despite having names identified with their former slave masters. Killingham considered her mother an "Afrikan warrior" whose name she proudly bore. Further, her name held great spiritual significance for her, too. As a devout Christian, she associated the name "Mary" with one of the most important figures in her faith. Even though the RNA never mandated that New Afrikans shed their slave names, my conversation with Dr. Killingham revealed she had to defend her decision to keep her "slave name." In a culture that sought to disassociate itself from any vestiges of oppression, people probably placed great pressure on her and others to take on an Afrikan name.[240]

Killingham's possession of an "Afrikan warrior" name stands out as significant because her inheritance seemed to contradict the prevailing gender conventions around naming. Assata

Shakur wrote, "women's names were nothing like the men's names, which meant things like strong, warrior, man of iron, brave, etc." The proliferation among Black women of names like Amina and Marini – which mean peaceful and charming, respectively – presumably confirms Assata's assertion. In addition, some women's appellations denoted generally heteronormative features of feminine gender such as being a mother or wife.[241] However, at least some New Afrikan women adopted "strong" names such as Fulani and Malika, designations shared by warriors and rulers.[242] Nzingha, taken from the popular 16th century military leader who successfully resisted the Portuguese occupation of her land and enslavement of her people for over thirty years, also gained popularity among Black women of the era.[243] Yet, dominant gender conventions persisted insofar as far more men than women took on "warrior" names or sobriquets that held great military significance. Names associated with soldiers and hunters, including Balogun (in all its various spellings), Kamau, Chaka, Odinga, and Sundiata, enjoyed prominence in an era during which some Black men strove to overturn what they considered historic emasculation.

Strong military names also garnered heightened significance because they suggested a willingness to engage in warfare. As an oppressed group, Black people's assumption of qualities associated with predecessors whose acumen on the battlefield gained them great respect and fear comprised another important aspect of cognitive liberation. Such honorable appellations endowed bearers with a responsibility to live up to the characteristics of their names in the war against white supremacy, the battle for land, and the contest for independence. Having a name associated with an "Afrikan warrior" gave Killingham that sense of responsibility.

Like Mama Killingham, many men elected warrior names with a similar sense of responsibility to uphold the characteristics imbedded in them. One such man is Hannibal Tirus

Afrik, a highly respected New Afrikan from Mississippi by way of Chicago and Rhode Island. Born in the mid-1930s, Afrik came from a poor family, earned scholarships to get him through Central State University in Wilberforce, Ohio, and climbed the United States military's ranks to the position of officer. In the process of attaining middle-class American comfort, he decided that African people in the United States could not be free until they achieved independence from U.S. hegemony. This belief inspired him to get involved with the PG-RNA (see chapter five). When explaining the reasons he accepted his current name, he mentioned that Hannibal the Annihilator's "exploits are legendary." He was "But the greatest military strategizer in the history of warfare." With regard to Tirus Afrik, the New Afrikan reported he

> was reputedly the head of the Zingha 10,000 years ago. The UNIA documented that that's where the red, black, and green first flew 10,000 years ago in the area of Northwest Africa which is now northern Mauritania. And so my students named me that and i take pride in trying to hold the expectations of that name.[244]

Baba Hannibal's full name instilled in him the responsibilities to be militarily adroit and to embody great leadership. Further, his Afrikan moniker placed him in a succession of mighty men beginning with ancestors from a time far gone up to participants in the twentieth century Garvey movement. Afrik's full name did not originate in a single region of Africa, but connected him with Africans from the Mediterranean world and West Africa, in addition to Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican-born organizer who built one of the world's largest Black organizations to date. Living up to the reputations associated with his name was a tall order that Baba Hannibal has proudly worked to fulfill in his personal life, public activities, and through his spiritual practice.

Well-known and widely respected New Afrikan Chokwe Lumumba began his association with the PG-RNA during his summer break from studying at Kalamazoo College in Kalamazoo,

Michigan. His name, like Afrik's, associates him with Afrikan military history and leadership. Regarding this association, he explained

> "Chokwe" means hunter and comes from an older African nation – what white folks would call a tribe – which existed during the slave trade. It fought valiantly against slave traders in North East Angola. It means hunter because they were elephant hunters. They used the ivory and stuff for trade. They were also distinguished for their arts. They were one of the ones who started performances where they'd hold up masks to be different characters. A lot of people think the Greeks started that, but it was the Chokwe. They'd use the masks to be different characters in the same play. The Chokwe were good at that… Lumumba means gifted. It's from Patrice Lumumba who helped bring the Congo to independence. He was one of the first leaders to lead an African nation to independence in the late '50s to early '60s… So my name's significant because i've chosen a name which represents Chokwe – the last resistance, some of the last resistance to the slave trade before the slave trade pretty much overtook Africa. And then Lumumba which is one of the first revolutionaries and first leaders of the national liberation movement who began to bring Africa back to its independence, at least political independence, which we know now is far less than what it needs to be; but it was a significant period in history. So Chokwe Lumumba literally means gifted hunter, but it also represents the nation and the brother that had important roles in our liberation struggle against white supremacy and for independence.[245]

As with Baba Hannibal, Lumumba's explanation of his Afrikan name contains the themes of military significance and leadership and hunting skills. Interestingly, he was not necessarily concerned with the military success or failure of the nation whose name he bears. Rather, he lauded their *resistance* of white supremacy. Further, the Chokwe gained a reputation for hunting elephants, trading in ivory, and their artistic contributions to the world. This conglomeration of features demonstrates the well-rounded nature of that nation's culture. Finally, Lumumba's desire to embody traits affiliated with the person and icon of Patrice Lumumba spawned from his aspiration to help the RNA achieve territorial autonomy from the United States in much the same way the Congo leader attempted to do so for his own country. The African leader enjoyed wide admiration from African Americans during the 1960s and 1970s, partially because he attempted to build a post-colonial Congo without the intervention of western powers, and because he was overthrown with the help of the U.S. CIA.[246]

Not all of the names chosen by or for New Afrikan men represented warriorship. The name Sekou, for example, is a West African appellation that means "learned" or "wise," and is associated by some with conquerors. A number of New Afrikan men also adopted Muhammad, the Arabic name denoting "praise" or "praiseworthy" and once attached to the prophet who created a now-global religion in the context of struggle and warfare. Though names such as Sekou and Muhammad do not specifically connote meanings connected with war or hunting, their association with notable historical figures signifies strength in other ways that many Black men found acceptable.

Alongside the dominant tendency to elect designations loaded with gender specificity, many New Afrikan women and men took on names with gender-neutral connotations that signified one's relationship with the Creator, and reminded the individual of her or his life's purpose. One popular name conveyed New Afrikan bearers' willingness to "struggle" for their goals, in this case those of New Afrikan independence and the destruction of White supremacist oppression worldwide. Thus, one may find names like Ahmad/Ahmed, Aneb, Assata, Bokeba, Fulani, and a host of others like them in the roll call of New Afrikan revolutionaries.

Why & How An Afrikan Name?

In addition to highlighting the Afrikan names some activists chose or accepted, I am also concerned with investigating why and how they came to their Afrikan names. The first and simplest explanation is that many New Afrikans felt the need to shed their slave names. As Assata Shakur explained, her married name, "Chesimard," constantly reminded her of the pain Europeans inflicted upon her ex-husband's ancestors. She recalled thinking about the name's origins and how a Chesimard in Martinique beat and raped his human property. She wondered "how many Black babies he had fathered, and how many Black people he had been responsible

for killing," and ultimately decided to relinquish the name Chesimard.[247] At some point, the still-JoAnne Chesimard requested an Afrikan name while attending a festival hosted by New Afrikans. She received Ybumi Oladele, a Yoruba name that signifies one's status as respected or honored at home.[248] In reference to her Afrikan name, Shakur recollected "I liked the way it sounded. Soft and musical, kinda happy-sounding." However, though she requested an Afrikan name and initially felt content with what she was given, she "promptly forgot about it" after a few days because she never felt any particular connection with it.[249]

As she came closer to obtaining her present name, Assata Olugbala Shakur, she decided that she wanted a strong name that aptly described her and her purpose. She insisted that it have

> something to do with the liberation of our people. I decided on Assata Olugbala Shakur. Assata means, 'She who struggles,' Olugbala means 'Love for the people,' and i took the name Shakur out of respect for Zayd and Zayd's family. Shakur means 'the thankful.'

In Shakur's case, the significance of her chosen name is multifaceted. On the one hand, Assata found a name that embraced what she believed to be her purpose, namely to struggle for her people. On the other hand, it encompassed her connection to a particular "family" with which she had developed a strong bond.[250] Although she did not do so in her autobiography, one could read her entire name in a manner similar to how Chokwe Lumumba interpreted his own. That is to say, Shakur's full name could be read as indicating her thankfulness for being given the responsibility of struggling for the people whom she loves. Her dedication to that struggle ultimately led to her imprisonment, torture, and exile to another country away from her family, comrades, and daughter.

Assata's experience of receiving a name during a ceremony or ritual was not uncommon. Bokeba Trice pointed out that the PG-RNA regularly presented new cadre with Afrikan names at various events and celebrations. He recalled that in his experience, it was a popular thing to do,

> particularly for the young folks that were coming into the movement back then and even some of the young adults, it was pretty much customary shedding [their] slave names and adopting our [their] Afrikan names.

At first glance, Trice's comments arguably reflect a lack of political consciousness on the part of new RNA recruits who assumed anthroponym and suggest that adopting Afrikan names simply comprised a popular or trendy activity. As obtaining an Afrikan name exhibited a certain fashionableness at the time (or could be classified as a fad, according to Herman Ferguson), it is possible that the young Bokeba did not situate the act of taking on an Afrikan name within the full context of Black Americans' struggles for liberation. However, his statement provokes several questions: for *whom* was adopting Afrikan names popular? What context rendered customary the practice of taking on an Afrikan name? Trice began to answer such questions when he stated

> Afrikan naming ceremonies were big things back then in the late '60s and early '70s. They would occur during Kwanzaa celebrations. They would occur during Malcolm X Day celebrations and those kinda thangs. They would be a standard part of whatever program was going on. Somewhere on the agenda or after the end they would have an Afrikan naming ceremony.[251]

Trice's account suggests that Black nationalists who collectively participated in activities aimed at "re-Africanizing" Detroit's Black population helped popularize the practice of acquiring an Afrikan name. In that context, even if Trice initially failed to understand the full significance of assuming his Afrikan name, his participation in Black nationalist activities and intentional engagement with elders and peers who consciously sought liberation demonstrate that acquiring an Afrikan name represented more than just a trendy thing for him to do. Further, the meaning of his acquired name signified his desire to contribute to the liberation movement. Joining the RNA's Black Legion acted as an additional gesture that confirmed his developing consciousness.

Balogun Anderson first received his Afrikan name in the late 1960s from a friend who found it in a book. He divulged,

> The meaning of [Balogun] in West Africa pretty much means "warlord." That's the meaning of it. "Warlord." In the Republic man i was just a worker, a soldier and a worker. Or a worker and a soldier. So citizen soldier.[252]

In addition to reflecting the gender norms undergirding Black Power-era New Afrikan name choices, Balogun's contemplation of his name also reveals the salient practice of obtaining appellations that identified bearers as both individuals and members of a larger community. Further, because community played a pivotal role in the giving, receiving, and accepting of names, Anderson's participation in a naming ceremony befitted his alignment with a broader collective. Coincidentally, during the naming ceremony he received his name a second time under the lead of Baba Oserjiman. He remembered,

> Later on that summer we were having a conference and Baba Oserjiman Adefunmi who was a Yoruba priest had gave… me a reading. And I didn't tell him that somebody had already selected a name for me and he told me that that was my name… through the readings.[253]

Unlike Assata who was ceremonially endowed with a name to which she did not feel connected, Anderson and Trice felt attached to their names and never questioned whether or not they should use them.[254]

As the experiences of Trice and Anderson illustrate, some New Afrikans took on new names for reasons other than needing to disconnect from the oppressor's culture. They and others acquired Afrikan appellations in the spirit of building communal relationships and developing their evolving political identities. Therefore, their motives were as sentimental as they were political. What is more, similar to people like Herman Ferguson and Marilyn Killingham who did not adopt Afrikan names, some RNA citizens who received Afrikan appellations still held on to parts or all of their slave names. For example, Bokeba did not use

his Afrikan middle and last names for long, nor did he completely stop using his birth name, Richard. The fact that some New Afrikans did not rid themselves of every nominal vestige of slavery also deserves some attention.

General Kuratibisha Ali X Rashid provides an example of this tendency, albeit with some qualifications. In regards to his names, he stated

> i kept the X [after taking on other names] simply because it's a part of me, part of my name and i had went through a lotta stuff with the Nation of Islam… So i earned the name, i felt it was a part of my name. I don't own my slave name, but i don't deny it either. The other part of my name is… Swahili – Kuratibisha which means… like servant of the people. Ali means… servant of Allah. Rashid says that i'm supposed to wise, i'm supposed to be ahead of the team as you put it.

General Rashid never felt the need to completely drop his slave name although he never uses it. For him, the slave name is just as much a part of him as the "X" he assumed when he joined the NOI and his Kiswahili and Arabic names that project his purpose and personal attributes. His entire name – a combination of slave and Afrikan – reveals the identity he bore since birth and illuminates the qualities he strove to embody as he learned more about himself and his decided purpose. Or, as RNA citizen Jumaani Mwesi stated very simply, with regard to one's name, "Everything that We were, We still are."[255] In other words, even as people grow and evolve, they cannot dismiss the personal history that preceded their revolutionary activism and Afrikan names. For that reason, New Afrikans like General Rashid refused to deny those aspects of their lives. Evolving and learning from their past lives and histories remained most important to such revolutionaries as they continued to struggle for liberation.

These themes of maintaining a sense of personal history presents itself in the name story told by New Afrikan lawyer Nkechi Taifa, Esq. The child of two educators and named Anita Caldwell at birth, Taifa found the Igbo appellation Nkechi (which means "gift of God") in a book when she was sixteen-years-old. As the president of her high school's Black Student

Union, she thought that the development of her Black consciousness necessitated her adoption of an Afrikan name. A few years later, after involving herself with the PG-RNA, she also took on the surname Ajanaku, which she defined as "struggling for the liberation of all African people until victory or death." However, she discovered that a polygamous family in Tennessee also employed that name, and because she disagreed with polygamy, she decided to discontinue using it. At one point, she gained the name Owusu through a marriage that eventually ended in divorce. Finally, she settled on using the name Taifa, which means "nation" in Swahili. Over the several years during which she underwent this evolution, Taifa, like Trice, Anderson, Rashid, and others, never completely rejected the name she received at birth. Instead, she legalized her Afrikan name in order to use it in her professional endeavors.[256]

Similarly, Brother_D.B. Aammaa Nubyahn identified himself with different names at different moments in his life. His name and the process by which he came to it constitute the most unique of the New Afrikans I interviewed. As a youth, he temporarily adopted the name, "Aa Menis Shaka Arungu." He adopted "Menis" from the "first pharaoh credited with uniting Upper and Lower Egypt, right." The legendary nineteenth century Zulu warrior from current-day South Africa inspired him to take on "Chaka." Finally, "Arungu's a Swahili word for organizer." Brother_D recalled that "this [Five Percenter] brother said first and last who sets in order." But, no one regarded him by that name.

After more thought and self-reflection, Brother_D "felt the need to have a chosen name." However, he felt attracted to denominations other than those with strict African origins. Instead, he confers

> i had this whole rationale that if someone who had never spoken was to open their mouth to utter a sound that would stand for everything, "aa" is a sound that you don't have to do anything with your tongue, your mouth, you know. You just open your mouth and let that out. But i was like, you can't just be "aa." So i was like okay well if you were to

> open your mouth and then shut it and then open it again you get "aammaa." Then i went through some spelling changes before coming up with the name "Aammaa." So that's where Aammaa came from… using this sound as meaning everything, i [originally] put forward "one who has a basic understanding of the universe" and then modified that in years to follow. So i was using that as my last name. So i was Darryl B. Aammaa. So that's late '76. In '79 when i got married, We didn't agree with the idea of the woman taking the man's last name, so We chose a family name. That was Nubyahn. And so Aammaa became my middle name. Darryl Aammaa Nubyahn. And somewhere over the years i began putting the B. back in there. I was Darryl B. Davis and then Darryl B. Aammaa. And then Darryl Aammaa Nubyahn. And i was like, resurrecting my middle initial, and so D.B. Aammaa Nubyahn.

Several aspects of Brother_D's name call for further discussion. First, though initially unaware of the African origins of his chosen appellation Aammaa, he later learned that the Dogon of modern-day Mali use the name Amma to signify the Creator. This insight struck him as particularly significant because even though Malians spell the name differently, he developed a connection with them due to their intellectual achievements and spirituality. Also of importance was Brother_D's willingness, if not intention, to ignore the gender conventions surrounding the last names of married couples. He and his then-wife agreed in the 1970s not to force the man's name on the woman – an arrangement that, even in the twenty-first century, has not gained much traction in the United States. Further, Brother_D acknowledged that throughout the world, Aammaa, regardless of its spellings, often correlates with "a mother concept, which [he's] cool with." Unlike some other New Afrikan men (or Black men more generally), Brother_D refrained from selecting names that signified physical prowess, warfare, or hunting. Finally, the Five Percent Nation of Gods and Earths influenced much of Brother_D's understanding of Aammaa. The Five Percenters are a group of Black nationalists whose origins began with their founder, Father Allah, who broke away from the NOI during the mid-1960s. One of their central beliefs is that god is not a "spook" or "ghost" which exists outside the realm of human understanding, but is embodied by the Black man.[257] His reconciliation with that

knowledge and his growth since he first assumed "Aammaa" eventually led him to modify his name's meaning to "one who *seeks* a basic understanding of the universe." Even as they challenge traditional gender norms, Brother_D's names demonstrate the many links between New Afrikan revolutionaries and the NOI.

Losing an Afrikan Name

Just as RNA activists gave designations to demonstrate a comrade's belonging in and worth to the Black nationalist and/or New Afrikan community, they also revoked some people's names. Though relatively rare, on the occasion that someone "sold out" and became (or was exposed as) an informant, their former community banished the use of their Afrikan name, sometimes publicly. In one situation, New Afrikans discovered that a trusted comrade worked with the federal government to locate and arrest Mutulu Shakur and others who participated in the 1981 Brinks expropriation. As former House of Umoja/Afrikan Peoples Party member, Dr. Akinyele Omowale Umoja explained

> they used him in the first trial… his name was Kamau, but We stopped calling him that name because he turned. He was somebody Mutulu befriended and brought him into the clinic. He had a drug problem and the surveillance let the feds know that he was possibly buying cocaine. They busted him on that and then got him to cooperate. Kamau – that was the name he got in the movement. But once he turned and became a snitch, We weren't going to call him by that name. We called him by his slave name, Peter Middleton. Same with Tyrone Wyson. He was, according to his statements, supposed to be a part of the quote-unquote family. He'd been in the RNA. I forgot what his Afrikan name was when he was in the RNA.[258]

The situations elucidated by Dr. Umoja endorse the logic expressed by Herman Ferguson. If a person proved himself or herself incapable of living up to the responsibilities required of a New Afrikan revolutionary, s/he forfeited the right to be called by an Afrikan name.

Personal name choices played formative and foundational roles in New Afrikans' quests for individual self-determination. Because Afrikan names, especially, held great meaning for

their New Afrikan bearers, such designations provide important sites for us to inquire how movement participation continued to affect RNA activists' lives for years after the Black Power era. First, the practice of denominating symbolized New Afrikans' diasporic African consciousness, their desire to connect with their African ancestry and the political objectives of their Black and Third World contemporaries. That consciousness also fostered in them a sense of responsibility to serve their people. If an individual failed to live up to the responsibilities demanded of a New Afrikan revolutionary, other comrades may choose to abstain from calling that delinquent by his or her Afrikan name. Second, New Afrikan name choices arose from RNA citizens' relationships with their immediate communities. The significance of such affinities cannot be understated because it helps us comprehend how and why individuals committed themselves to a communal purpose. Another common theme illuminated by the interviews presented in this chapter is the weight political and mental evolution brought to bear upon the various meanings individual New Afrikans associated with their names. Finally, most of the New Afrikans cited in this chapter displayed a lasting connection with their slave names, even when they took on Afrikan names. Although deemed slave names by some, appellations given at birth were not easily disregarded by some activists as they came into New Afrikan consciousness.

"New Afrikan": A Revolutionary Collective Identity

I now shift my analytical attention from personal names to the group name "New Afrikan," New Afrikan orthography, and respectful titles given to various RNA activists. If personal names constituted one important space of resistance for African people and their descendents, then group designations, orthography, and honorable titles provided terrains on which they could manifest self-determination over their collective identity. Like personal names,

group designations, methods of spelling, titles, and New Afrikans' ideological beliefs all significantly contribute to the psychological and political liberation of RNA activists struggling against the United States empire from within its political territory.

The New *Afrikan Collective Identity*

The concept "New Afrikan" warrants extended analytical attention. The longstanding historical struggle of African people to develop a name with which to identify themselves based on their unique experiences in the United States has persisted since at least the seventeenth century. According to scholars Bettye Collier-Thomas and James Turner, Black people – enslaved and "free" – initially insisted on identifying themselves as Africans. They used "African" in organization names, church denominations, and many other group-centered formations. However, as previously distinct African ethnicities merged and Africans produced offspring with Native Americans and Europeans - by choice and by force – Black people in the United States began experiencing a new heterogeneity that caused many among them to reconsider the best names to represent their collectivity. During the 1830s, many Black folks replaced "African" with "Colored" in order to avoid any association with the African Colonization Society and other deportation and emigration schemes that threatened "free" Negroes' ability to remain in the United States. Over time, "Afro-American," and "Tan American" (among other titles) provoked considerable debate across the spectrum of African-descended people depending of social position, class, and skin color. By the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, "Negro" thrived as a popular group label. Its advocates argued that the designation resonated with the overwhelming majority of African Americans and connected them with Black people the world over. In fact, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, and many

other prominent figures championed its use, and it held widespread currency until the mid- to late-1960s.[259]

At the same time, since the late 19th century, several detractors of "Negro" also weighed in on the naming debate. *New York Age* editor T. Thomas Fortune and lawyer Everett J. Waring championed the use of "Afro-American," claiming that appellation took into account bearers' African descent and also acknowledged their non-African parentage.[260] Richard B. Moore claimed that by 1948, he had concluded that "Negro" constituted a vile and inherently oppressive label. In 1960 he argued that

> The purpose of the name, "Negro" was to mark [African] people by virtue of their color for a special condition of oppression, degradation, exploitation, and annihilation... If you are willing to accept the slave master's vile appellation "negro," [sic] you are also willing to accept segregated slums at double rentals and all the disabilities that go with tenth-class citizenship.[261]

Richard B. Moore's charge posited the word as an invention in service of hegemony. In many ways his paralleled that of the NOI.

Just as they did with slave names, the NOI played an expansive role in proliferating through print and television media critical dialogue around the use of "Negro" as the group designation for African-descended people. According to the NOI, "so-called Negroes" were those people who feared the White man so much that they stooped to help this enemy to the detriment of their own group interests. They worshipped the gods Europeans forced on them and acted contrary to their own well-being. Put simply, according to the NOI, Negroes lacked knowledge of self.[262] Viewing the term as a device for European dominance, NOI leaders used it derisively to describe those Black people whom they considered mentally colonized. Malik Shabazz's "The Black Revolution" presented an example of this usage. In the speech, he rhetorically asked:

> How can the so-called Negroes who call themselves enlightened leaders expect the poor black sheep to integrate into a society of bloodthirsty white wolves, white wolves who have already been sucking on our blood for over four hundred years here in America?[263]

In contradistinction to Negroes, Shabazz posited "the black masses" as a potential force that could secure liberation. However, he indicated that even though Black people in the United States possessed the capacity to gain liberation, they still had a choice to make. He inquired,

> Since the black masses here in America are now in open revolt against the American system of segregation, will these same black masses turn toward integration or will they turn toward complete separation? […] will these awakened black masses truly revolt and separate themselves completely from this wicked race that has enslaved us?[264]

The contrast Shabazz drew between "the black masses" and "the so-called Negroes" is stark. The black masses encompassed those people who decidedly revolted against "White World Supremacy" and, in his estimation, theretofore remained unimpressed by the potential of inclusion into that oppressive system. He believed that because they remained undecided about whether they should seek admittance into the system, they formed a powerful and dangerous force that, once organized, could potentially help create a separate society in which Black people lived free from oppression and exploitation.

As Shabazz evolved intellectually and politically, he continued to review and revise how he referred to African people in the United States. Because the NOI was not the only nationalist group challenging the names used to identify Black Americans, Shabazz also likely benefitted from the influence of people like Queen Mother Moore, John Henrik Clarke, and many others who strove to indentify themselves in ways that reflected self-definition, empowerment, and their connections with continental Africans and African descendants across the diaspora.[265] Possibly inspired by these intellectuals and activists, Shabazz eventually employed "Afro-American" and sometimes "African-American" as his appellations of choice. He also created the Organization of Afro-American Unity and "patterned [it] after the letter and spirit of the Organization of

African Unity (OAU)." In addition to reflecting his commitment to pan-African solidarity, "Afro-" and "African-" also signified his desire to participate in the global revolution waged by people of color across the Third World.[266] Shabazz, his comrades, and his self-described disciples shifted their nomenclature throughout the 1960s and beyond. Many of his followers found resonance with the terms "Black," "African," and "Afrikan," to describe themselves and their global kindred. Even though they varied on what to call themselves, they all agreed on the problematic nature of "Negro." For example, Maulana Karenga was quoted as saying "'Negroes,' still suffer from America's first concept of us -- 3/5 of a man."[267] The term lost its currency by the end of the 1960s.

The Malcolm X Society joined the chorus of voices debating the "name controversy" when the organization reconsidered Black people's nationality. Along with the question of citizenship – specifically as it concerned Black people's right to decide with whom they should give their consent of citizenship – RNA founders regarded renaming Black people "New Afrikans" more pivotal to the process of psychological liberation than changing one's personal name. According to Milton Henry/Gaidi Obadele, the separation of Black people from their motherland prevented them from being Africans in the geographic and strict cultural sense of the term. Distinguishing the RNA from its emigrationist predecessors, he argued that it was practically impossible for Black folks in the United States to migrate "back" to Africa. Instead, he and the other PG-RNA founders urged that Black people in the United States consider themselves a *new* African nation whose home lay in the southern portion of the United States (the region in which the majority of their ancestors struggled and died for the benefit of the empire). Queen Mother Moore heavily influenced the RNA's endorsement. Having participated with the U.S. Communist Party from the 1930s until the 1950s, who at one point championed a

thesis on Black self-determination, she labored as one of the major architects of the renewed plan to acquire land in the South for African Americans.[268] RNA documentation contends that all African-descended people born in the United States are New Afrikans. Some long-time New Afrikans, including Bilal Sunni-Ali, insist that African people in the Caribbean and in South America are also New Afrikans.[269] As I previously pointed out, the title "New Afrikan" distinguishes Africans in America from their kin of other nations and signifies their rootedness in the land that New Afrikans claimed as theirs since 1968.[270]

Of course, one could also advance the thesis that becoming New Afrikan constituted a process in and of itself. As concerns such a process, Brother Imari regarded being a New Afrikan as largely predicated upon developing a revolutionary mindset. Accordingly, he commented to Black Power activists, "if you are a black nationalist revolutionary, the Republic of New Africa is YOUR Government." By contrast, Brother Imari dubbed those who touted New Afrikan citizenship but advanced goals that compromised the RNA's success as "Negro," "unreconstructed niggers," "comfortable slaves," and the like.[271]

New Afrikan Orthography

As part of the larger effort to exercise self-determination, Black Power-era New Afrikan activists yielded some of their attention to orthography. The Provisional Government decided in the mid-1970s to spell Afrika with a 'k' rather than a 'c' because RNA leaders deemed the latter spelling more consistent with translations of African languages, especially those from East Africa. New Afrikans were not alone in their concern with issues of language, translation, and orthography. Black nationalists of all stripes participated in this attempted re-learning of their ancestors' tongues. New Afrikans based their spellings on Kiswahili because the popular notion at that historical moment was that the language would become the Pan-African lingua franca for

continental and diasporic Africans.[272] But some RNA citizens also endorsed the spelling change due to their pressing desires to distinguish themselves from their oppressor's culture and linguistic norms. Trice recalled,

> [W]hat was said back then was that that was the original spelling of Afrika, that it was originally spelled with a "K." Now i've never seen any evidence of that, but i do know that it became customary right around that time… But yeah, i do remember when they changed it. I think a lot of it was just to do things differently, to separate ourselves from the American way of doing thangs. A lot of it was related to that. So it was more of a protest statement than any actual fact, i think.[273]

Also of importance with regard to orthography was New Afrikans' lowercase spelling of the pronoun "i" and capitalization of the first letter in the pronoun "We." New Afrikans utilized such orthographic practices to promote a group-centered consciousness amongst RNA citizens. Brother Imari seemingly served as one of the chief architects of that trend as he employed the uppercase "We" and lowercase "i" in his early books.[274]

Titles and Respect

The final denominational issue that I briefly examine in this chapter is that of titles, an issue of great importance for New Afrikan revolutionaries. Though not used by New Afrikans exclusively, "Sister," "Brother," "Baba," and "Mama" comprise some of the common titles RNA comrades in struggle used to refer to one another. More than just signifying the familial bond revolutionaries attempted to create and maintain during their involvement with the movement, such titles stood as representative of the society they endeavored to create and, like other names, intended to help them overcome any alienation that potentially existed amongst New Afrikans and between Africans in the United States and Black people in other parts of the world. Further, the use of familial and courteous titles provided activists with chances to respect and revere elders, leaders in the movement, and each other in ways historically denied Black people in the Americas, especially by White Americans. "Mama" and "Baba," for example, reminded

activists that the movement elders labored as their teachers and merited respect for the paths they attempted to forge for their younger comrades. Within the PG-RNA, the practice of employing position titles such as "President" and "General" served to create a political culture that corresponded with those of other nation-states and fulfilled some of the requisites the United Nations set for collectivities seeking political autonomy and/or territorial sovereignty (see chapter 2).

Conclusion

Black people in general and New Afrikans in particular demonstrated their cognitive liberation by taking on Afrikan names in record numbers during the Black Power era.[275] These adopted designations reflected each bearer's need to find mental and spiritual emancipation from a historical and contemporaneous existence rife with oppression as the larger group collectively developed a new society and culture. Although assuming Afrikan appellations during the Black Power era appeared popular or trendy, this practice enabled the enactment of a form of self-determination that yielded significant political and psychological impacts. In fact, when New Afrikans renamed themselves and their children, they created a new identity and a political culture that possessed the power to change society. I argue that New Afrikans' onomastic acts demonstrate the most basic and profound examples of decolonized mentalities and capture the essence of lifestyle politics. That is to say, naming comprised a mundane, yet substantial, way for New Afrikans to empower themselves.

However, naming served as one site among several others conducive to the enactment of lifestyle politics. New Afrikans' ideas about family, work, and spirituality stood as equally important realms for the actualization of this phenomenon and thus require further elaboration. The next chapter focuses on these areas of New Afrikans' lives in order to paint a more

comprehensive picture illustrating my argument that becoming a revolutionary involved more than just exogenous political display.

Chapter 5 – Revolutionary Lifestyle: Life Course Perspectives and Lifestyle Politics

Well the way We do it… it's a lot of different varieties of it, but out of the tradition i come out of, [a New Afrikan wedding ceremony] always starts with a libation and honoring the ancestors. There's always what We call an 8-Bowl Ceremony where people have to taste different elements that represent different aspects of life. Cause We use eight bowls for birth, for naming ceremonies, for initiations, for marriages, and We use them for final rites of passage. It's like strong drink for strength that comes from you ancestors, honey for sweet times in life, lime for bitter times in life – really for relationships; bitterness that comes in relationships. Salt for consistency as well as variety, cayenne pepper for crisis and being able to survive crisis, water for coolness, cool head, calmness, African palm oil for institutions and as a medicine, and finally coconut that represents strength that comes from the spirit world. That's a constant part of it. The rest of the wedding ceremony can vary. There're vows that either We do or the couple does. There are an exchange of rings, then finally there's a pronouncement. It can vary. In my wedding – when i was married, there was a New Afrikan portion of it. We did the Creed, i think, or the Oath of Allegiance, i forget which one. So you can have some variations. They're all not the same…

Any wedding i do, i have some basic elements. But i've done them together with preachers – Christian ministers. We've got some Christian ministers in our movement who've done weddings, and they put some Christian elements in that with the other stuff i mentioned. I had a wedding i did, and the young lady was from Panama. We added some Panamanian elements in it. You feel what i'm saying? I tell each couple i do a wedding for, [that] it's their wedding. I tell them basically what i do, and i want you to incorporate – i want you to tell me how you want this done, because that's something that's gonna be a memory for that couple, so i want them to…

[I've done New Afrikan wedding ceremonies m]ostly in Atlanta. But i've done one in South Carolina, i did one in Texas. The one i did in Texas, both of them were members of our [New Afrikan Peoples O]rganization. The wife was Ethiopian, so it had Ethiopian elements in it. And i did… one in Alabama. Again, they were both members of our organization and i had to do that along with a brother in my organization – he's also a professor at Georgia State – but he's an AME preacher. Some people, because of their parents, they need a preacher. They need someone who's going to pronounce them in the name of Jesus or some church. Being a New Afrikan, ain't one set religion, one set ideology. Being a New Afrikan is an ideology, but it's heterogeneous. Everybody ain't the same thing. I assume there's some Buddhist in there.

– Dr. Akinyele Umoja

As the everyday lived practice of political ideology, lifestyle politics involve the constant interpretation, negotiation, and reproduction of ideas shared between activists, allowing New

Afrikans to seek empowerment in the most quotidian aspects of their lives in the movement. Therefore the concept of lifestyle politics finds expression in some of the most intimate aspects of peoples' lives, including their weddings. As Dr. Umoja illuminates, New Afrikans have been endeavoring to subvert the influence of American society in many areas of their lives. In his sketch of New Afrikan wedding ceremonies, Dr. Umoja provides just one glimpse into that effort.

Inspired by African traditions and infused with elements of New Afrikan political culture, the New Afrikan wedding ceremony demonstrates the dialectic of lifestyle politics as New Afrikans' empowering practices. Although a wedding only takes place occasionally, various aspects of such a ceremony begins to divulge the mundane views and beliefs that fill the interstices of New Afrikan daily life. Further, the above details about wedding ceremonies support the idea that being New Afrikan in America has been a process, one that constantly negotiates New Afrikan Political Science with elements of U.S. culture, and in the cases of people from other countries, their own national traditions. They, like New Afrikans' name choices, remind us that no two Afrikans understand their ideology the same way. Or as Dr. Umoja argues, being New Afrikan is not dependent on "one set ideology."

This chapter continues exploring the methods by which New Afrikans empowered themselves in the most quotidian and underexplored aspects of social movement participation through their dynamic engagement with NAPS. Here I focus on several specific aspects of New Africans' lifestyles, including their employment choices, perspectives on the New Afrikan family, and spiritual world-view. This approach allows us to observe several common tendencies. First, the New Afrikans featured here provide details of the forces that drove them to activism, including their experiences with education, family, their religious upbringing, and

political awareness and activism in their youth, before they became New Afrikan revolutionaries. Their experiences with racism and the tools with which they learned to resist racial oppression were common amongst them. Next, they describe their entry into social movement activism and how they became involved in the New Afrikan activism. Typically those who became conscious citizens of the RNA expressed a desire to struggle for independence based on what they learned from previous life and organizing experiences. They also had consistent contact with people already active within the independence movement by the time they decided to join those efforts. The activists presented here describe, in their own words, the impact activism has had on their life-course.

Social Movement Literature and the Life-Course/Biographical Impact of Activism

This chapter builds on a small body of sociological and historical literature that focuses on the life-course or biographical impact of social movement activism. Sociologists Doug McAdam, Nella Van Dyke, and Brenda Wilhelm, among others, have dedicated focused research to such aspects of social movement activism and have come to agree that participation in social movements of the 1960s caused activists to question and critique the ways that societal norms govern their personal lives. They explained that for activists, more than non-activists, the social upheaval of that era had an indelible effect on their life-course patterns.[276]

According to Darren E. Sherkat and T. Jean Blocker, social movement activism "inevitably forges opinions, orients activities, and affects the lifestyles of participants" for several reasons. Among them, one's "participation in social movements constitutes a link to a variety of resources," which "will help sustain distinctive schemata, and will be sustained by the schematic orientations that constitute the social structure of social movements." Further, they state, "individuals' commitments to particular schemata may become codified, providing

cognitive resources for other decisions and understandings – thereby generating cognitive structures." In other words, activists begin their social movement activism with a certain perception of the world, which through sustained contact with the people, ideas, and experiences that accompany social movement activism, change and ultimately reshape such individuals' worldviews. What they learned became codified and then formed the basis of their understanding outside of that particular set of experiences with activism. Finally, "The transposabillity of schematic orientations across structural domains implies that shifting preferences will lead to different choices among diverse resource options – such as choice of job, political affiliations, religious ties, and family structure."[277] This claim captures what the New Afrikans shared for this study. They experienced various forms of oppression as children and youth, which then guided their decisions to become involved with social movement activism. Their activism then reshaped their worldviews and became a reference point for decisions they eventually made about their careers, families, and other aspects of their daily lives.

Though far from an exhaustive review of the sociological literature on the life-course or biographical impact of activism, these texts represent the extant sources on the topic. They provide a useful beginning point for exploring the manifold ways that activists possibly changed and evolved in their political and social orientation because of their participation with social movements. However, the scope and analysis of the sociological literature are limited because of scholars' focus on vaguely conceptualized and narrowly depicted versions of civil rights, women's rights, and a mostly White "New Left." With few exceptions, the scholars presented here utilized information from random national surveys in order to develop their research, making it difficult to identify who exactly was a social movement activist, and what their participation entailed.[278] Next, these studies pose imprecise questions about electoral politics,

Christianity, non-marital co-habitation, and childbearing as their main devices to measure each respondent's level of "activism." Those aspects of people's lives are excellent ways to determine one's political orientation, but as employed by the extant literature, they provide a narrow, and therefore questionable, perspective about the impact of social movements on activists. Mainly, they determine that heteronormative, non-marital cohabitation, delayed marriage and childbearing, reluctance to join Christian churches, and voting for Democratic Party candidates constitute the politics of former social movement activists. Even though they were concerned with activists' life-courses, they presented social movements and the ideas that they produced as static.

Because these studies do not include Black revolutionaries, they over simplified their results. For example, they do not interrogate the ways in which many social movement participants utilized marriage and childbearing as the basis from which to organize newly conceptualized communities, which could strengthen their ability to undermine White supremacy. Such studies overlook the many revolutionaries who ended up in prison or in exile abroad because of their activities and/or associations, which dramatically affected their life-courses. Finally, they do not discuss how activists' lived experiences and interactions with various "cognitive resources" produce an internal evolution within the movement, change the political orientation of social movement organizations, and help (re)define the parameters of their agendas.

Some historians have begun exploring the ways that social movement participation impacts activist lifestyles, and conversely how activists impact social movement organizations. Specifically, Tracye Mathews and Robyn C. Spencer provide insightful information about the Black Panther Party and how Panther activists reoriented their entire lifestyles in order to live in

alignment with their political ideology and the directives of the BPP's Central Committee. In the process of negotiating their new lifestyles with previous worldviews and social understandings, Panthers expanded their organizational ideology in ways that caused it to be more theoretically viable for participants and threatening to the status quo. Both Mathews and Spencer contend that Panthers – and the women especially – fought diligently to minimize sexism by creating non-sexist lifestyle practices.[279] They participated equally with men as cadre leaders and theorists; they sold newspapers, fed children, and risked ostracism from their families just as their male counterparts. Also, these historians appropriately consider how the offensive waged against Black revolutionaries by the federal government, impacted Black Panthers' lifestyles. However, neither Mathews nor Spencer discuss the long-term outcomes of this dialectical process of living one's political ideology.

This chapter utilizes the most promising aspects of the sociological and historical scholarship on the biographical impact of social movements in order to determine the various effects of New Afrikans' dialectical relationships with their movement. It builds on their work, to develop an understanding of Lifestyle Politics, or the various ways that personal or subjective aspects of activists' lives influenced their social movement participation. As discussed in the previous chapter, the NAIM encouraged activists to pursue self-determination and independence culturally and politically from the United States and Western societies more generally. Besides promoting individual, group, and geographical name choices that helped New Afrikans rethink their connection with the U.S. empire, Africa and its diaspora, and the Third World, the theory and practice of NAPS created space for re-conceiving and reframing concepts of family, spirituality, and one's relationship with the mode of production.

Pre-RNA Gestation: Childhood & Youth Experiences

The New Afrikans in this study observed and experienced racism and other forms of oppression embedded in U.S. society and interwoven through just about every aspect of their lives. Their socialization in schools, their religious associations, family upbringings, and other social interactions, helped them develop a critique of racism, the U.S. government, and the various ways that oppressed people could find redress for their problems. Therefore, before we can understand the unique experiences of social movement activists, we must explore their backgrounds and contextualize their decisions to become activists based on their lives prior to participation with social movements. This enables us to consider what factors initiated in various individuals the desire to actively challenge the status quo and advocate for New Afrikan independence instead of full citizenship rights within the body politic. Gathering background information on these revolutionaries also allows us to analyze what evolution took place in their lives.

Early Educational Experiences

Education constitutes an important empirical space in which one can gather information about New Afrikans' pre-activism experiences. For many people, school made up some of the most important spaces of socialization. It brought them into direct contact with the ideologies of the United States (and those ideologies that contradicted it), forced them into situations with racial – and for some, gender – oppression, and for many provided them with opportunities to interact with White Americans. Such contact helped inform their future decisions.

Marilyn Preston Killingham spent her childhood in Nashville, Tennessee (where she was born) in the 1940s and her youth in Gary, Indiana during the 1950s, where she was dedicated to her local church and proved to be a bright student. As a young lady, her major aspirations in life were "to marry [a man] and have twelve children. [She] wasn't interested in a career." But,

because she took pleasure defying the status quo and challenging the broader society's assigned place for women, Killingham decided to become involved in business and destabilize the mostly male composition of that aspect of society.

That being the case, Killingham joined Roosevelt High School's (Gary, Indiana) Future Business Leaders of America (FBLA), which led her to experience a major encounter with segregation that she would never forget. Killingham explained that when she and another Black student attended an FBLA conference in Muncie, Indiana, they

> were not permitted to stay in the hotel. It was 1951. And the head of the business – Dr. Studebaker, i shall never forget him – he arranged for me and [the other young lady] to stay in the boys' dormitory at Ball State University. And then We could come and attend the conference at the hotel, but We could not sleep there. Anyway, how you gonna react to stuff like that? […] i don't know how i lived before. I was so busy trying to be accepted in some majority culture that didn't want to deal with me.

As a youth, Killingham believed that she could live a life that was congruent with the American dream. She desired marriage, children, and comfort, even as she sought to defy the gender norms that came along with that lifestyle during the "American Century." However, the more she tried to assert herself as an independent Black woman, the more she recognized the obstacles that would make attaining her conflicting desires difficult.

Other areas of Killingham's school experience in Gary were marked by situations in which racial discrimination was a defining factor in how she remembered it. She recalled that most of the schools, the local swimming pools, and Marquette Park Beach were all segregated. Although she did not indicate whether this segregation was legal or de facto, the results were the same; societal norms maligned and treated as subhuman the people who were excluded from its full rights and benefits. For this reason alone, Killingham stated, "anybody that wasn't conscious, to [Killingham], was crazy."[280] Her racial consciousness and the decision to rebel against patriarchy and racism were indicative of her early critiques of U.S. society.

Similarly, Khalil Mustafa's childhood education experience brought him into direct contact with racial oppression. He became directly involved in a civil rights struggle challenging school segregation when his parents utilized their children's lack of access to quality facilities to bring the Board of Education to trial.

> It became the focal [point] of the first desegregation case in the north, the New Rochelle school system, the Lincoln School. That's what they called it, the Lincoln School. And the case went all the way to the Supreme Court. The name of the case was *Taylor v. The Board of Education*. The plaintiff section of the suit, my sister was named co-plaintiff. My mother and father, being the next of kin, represented her on the suit. So that's how my education started out.[281]

Consistent with similar cases across the nation, Mustafa's family and the other plaintiffs won the case and helped desegregate New Rochelle's public school system. A victory that surely made many proud, the case lent itself to the national effort to provide Black children with quality education. However, as a "guinea pig" in the experiment that soon followed, Baba Khalil's encounters with racism set the course his life would take into his adulthood.

News about the brutal murder of Emmitt Till reached the young Mustafa around the time he integrated one of New Rochelle's public schools. In response to the murder, he "rebelled" against the system by refusing to salute the American flag and recite the American pledge of allegiance. His infractions against U.S. patriotism in a space that was already hostile to his presence, Mustafa insisted, earned him expulsion and forced him to continue his education in a state reformatory where he quickly began to organize against inhumane prison conditions and against the torture of several youth.[282]

For younger New Afrikans – those whose childhood and youth took place during the late-1950s through the 1960s – "integration" in their local schools brought them into close contact with White students and teachers, who helped shape their understanding of racism and other forms of oppression. Bilal Sunni-Ali grew up mainly in the South and North Bronx in New York

City. As a child in the South Bronx, he went to school with mostly Black children. But when a series of organized tenement building fires forced his family to relocate to the North Bronx, his contact with other school children changed drastically. He went from being part of the majority to being a minority student in a mostly White environment. Although he related not being comfortable with that arrangement, what he found more important was the leftist curriculum of his Social Studies teacher. Going against the grain of the typical Cold War era approaches to pedagogy, the Irish teacher

> made us read the Communist Manifesto, and he made us study about the French Revolution… I didn't realize it at the time, but that shaped a lot of my political views, because i don't think no other Social Studies teacher was teaching that… I thought it was good when i heard it [because] i had listened to my father and his friends talk about their job. Then i had studied about the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution, and studied the Communist Manifesto and it made sense to me. Stuff my father and his friends would be complaining about, and developing a way of life where the workers would rule, that made all the sense in the world.[283]

Although he did not relate any personal encounters with racism, as did other northerners in his area, Sunni-Ali did begin, with the help of this radical-minded teacher, to deepen his critique of oppressive situations he experienced outside of school and those which he learned about from others.[284] He was receiving these history lessons at school as he was gaining exposure to African culture, Islam, Black Liberation activities around New York City, and as he began his path to becoming an accomplished musician.

Dr. Njeri Jackson's experience as a child and youth in the San Francisco school system of the 1950s and 1960s would also influence her later in life.

> Miss Duncan, she was my first grade teacher, and i still have a book called the *Robins Family* that she gave me when i was in first grade. And so my first experience of the value of learning came from an African American woman… My teachers, beginning with Miss Duncan, always encouraged me to go to college. There was always this assumption that i would go to college even though i didn't come from a family that went to college.[285]

The inspiration to attend college stayed with Dr. Jackson through high school where she began to live what she considered her mission as a Christian to fight for social justice and the human rights of all people. Accordingly, Dr. Jackson was the president of her junior high school's student government, and during high school she participated with the Student Interracial Relations Society. Her positions in such political groups allowed her to access the inner workings of the local government, brought her into close contact with the Black Panther Party, and prepared her for the organizing she would do at the University of California in Berkeley.[286]

Out of the New Afrikans who shared their experiences, fourteen of them indicated that they participated in some political organizing as youth and/or young adults due to their experiences as children and youth in public, private, and religious schools. For example, Baba Bokeba was Chairman of the Black Student Action Movement at Kettering High School, and Nkechi Taifa was president of her school's Black Student Union. But what was more common was for those presented here to have had complicated experiences with integration, because they came into contact with a range of ideologies that pervaded the larger society and guided the social and political policies of the nation's leaders. So, more than just agitated members of a minority group, some of the people who would become revolutionary activists were men and women who, at an early age, determined that they did not have to accept the world as it was. They decided that they could empower themselves and others, and began searching for ways to do just that. They gained similar lessons from their religious experiences and social activities.

Childhood & Youth Contact with Religion

Religion, like school, exposed young people to prevailing ideas about race and gender. Contact with positive and negative religious beliefs resulted in critiques that guided future New Afrikans. Jackson grew up in the Mormon Church during the 1950s and 1960s. Her mother was

not religious, and Jackson was not aware of her father's religious beliefs and practices. However, her family received food from the local Mormon Church under the condition that Jackson and her sister attend their programs and services. As young Black girls in the Mormon Church at that time, they were among the first African Americans to be baptized by the religious organization, which throughout most of its history, preached that African people were "cursed" with the "Mark of Cain." That belief, and several personal experiences with the church's racism and sexism led Jackson to reject religion when she was in her youth. In her own words

> Mormons are pretty sexist in addition to being pretty racist – and i did a speech about women being equal to men. And that there was no justification in scripture or law – now this how i'm arguing it now, but you know it wasn't in that kind of language – for women to be treated differently and that people should not have any expectations that women should just be mothers, wives, and obey their husbands and stuff. They didn't know that that was – cause i had always been a good little girl and gave my little speeches – and they didn't know that fire was in me. And the bishop came up to me afterward and was trying – came up after i spoke and said well you know some of our young [laughter], they don't know what they talking about. And that was it for me. Like do *you* know what i'm talking about? What do you mean, i don't know what i'm talking about? And i had talked about gender out of the experience of race. And i said for instance that Mormons believe that Blacks are inferior to Whites. But i dare any among you to say that i'm inferior to any of you… This White man came over and sat down next to me and turn[ed] and looked at me and said, 'wow i never knew you were a nigger.' So you have those kind of experiences in life that tell you hooo – and so my position was 'i never have been one. And i always suspected you were a bigot, but thanks for clarifying.' And for me that was kind of it. It was like wow, this is some – and a couple who's names i can't remember overheard him and they were outraged. And they came up to me and said 'don't listen to that man, what he said was wrong and totally insensitive.' *Insensitive?* What do you mean insensitive? That was bigoted and racist… cause they thought i was going to be damaged and marked for life. But i was angry. They tried to clean it up, but there was no cleaning it up after that.[287]

Jackson and her sister were the children of a White mother and Black father. Although she and her mother never tried to hide that fact, some people chose to overlook it until they were forced to confront her mixed parentage. Because the religious leadership and congregation taught that she was inferior and subordinate because she was Black and a woman, Jackson decided that she could not hold on to her religious affiliation.

However, not all of her experiences with religion left a negative impression on her. Dr. Jackson attributes the Mormon Church with instilling in her several political and social values that guided her through the course of her youth and became the basis for her political activism and self-empowerment. For example, she decided to embrace vegetarianism in the late 1960s because the Mormon Church emphasized living a healthy lifestyle. She continued:

> I also took seriously some of the tenets of Christianity, you know do good, treat people nice. They teach you all of that stuff. You go to church, they say be honest. Share, be loving. I understand at its core what Christianity, Jesus Christ and the whole crew was about. And i thought those things made good sense. That you outta be honest, that you wanna help the poor… especially since i was [poor]. And the way that We were [mis]treated was etched in my mind very early in my life. And i knew that it was wrong, that it shouldn't happen. And one thing that growing up in the Mormon church gave me, because i was really, really different in every community that i was in, i had to have the courage to hold my ground and to be who i thought i was. So it meant that i had a big mouth. And to have a big mouth you and to back your stuff up, you have to read a lot. And the more you read and learn about the world, the bigger your mouth gets, especially around matters of injustice.[288]

Jackson's "big mouth," intellectual curiosity, devotion to social justice, and adherence to some of her religious values were important building blocks for her practices in adulthood.

Unlike Jackson, Bokeba Trice did not recall having any positive experiences with religion as a child. Growing up in his mother's house necessitated that he and his younger brother attend Catholic church services regularly and attend a recently integrated parochial school where he felt that the religion was being "shoved down [his] throat" by racist nuns whose disdain African Americans traumatized him. Consider the following:

> I remember probably being in the second grade. We were in catechism class. We were on a chapter about angels. I was thumbing through the book and this was maybe six or seven year old. Then i raised my hand and i asked the teacher, i said 'i don't see any pictures in here of it, but can Black people be angels?' And she told me, 'no.' And i'm like wait a minute; if we obey the Bible and obey the Ten Commandments, get our lives right, aren't we supposed to go to heaven? She was like, no. I said, 'well if we don't go to heaven, we don't go to hell if we're good?' She said, 'no.' I said, 'well then where do we go? We don't go to purgatory if we've been good.' She said, 'no, there's a place for Black people that's like between purgatory and heaven.' I'm like, this ain't making no

> sense. I'm steadily trying to question her and she finally lost it and she leaned over and said, 'you dirty little heathen, you dare question the word of God?' And this is a nun with a full habit on… I mean the nuns were very racist. They had this attitude because this was such a nice quiet place before ya'll [African Americans] came here. Since y'all came here, it's been nothing but trouble.[289]

Like Dr. Jackson, Trice's early contact with religion included the attempts by some to dehumanize him by suggesting that he was not capable of receiving the same salvation that his White peers were guaranteed under certain conditions. This was compounded by the fact that his mother and several others had to fight to integrate the Catholic Church they attended during Bokeba's childhood. "And at the time – this was in the late 50s – Black folks had been allowed to come into the service but they had to go sit up in the balcony; they couldn't sit on the main floor. So my mother and some other folks led a big struggle against that and finally they decided they were gonna integrate Sunday service." After they succeeded, "half of the White families left." Baba Bokeba learned very early in life that racism had a significant impact on religion.

However, religious spaces provided Baba Bokeba with an opportunity to do some of the political work in which he became engaged as a youth. He was the chairman of the Black Student Action Movement at Kettering High School and was also active with the RNA. After he had determined that religion was not for him, he decided to use his attendance of Catholic services to spread the news of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

> We'd come to church a half hour early and We'd be out in front of the church selling the *New African* as all the White folks and some Black folks was coming into the church. And there was another brother who had been one of the original young Black folks when We had integrated the school years before that – We were now teenagers. So We were selling the *New African* every Sunday and he was selling the Panther paper every Sunday… And We stood outside the church every Sunday faithfully selling our papers. Intimidating White folks into buying 'em.[290]

Even though he neither believed in religion nor found many positive lessons in the doctrine that he learned as a child, Trice and some other Black youth found ways to empower themselves in the face of great opposition.

Other New Afrikans had positive, or at least neutral, experiences with religion as children and youth. Sekou Owusu grew up attending a Catholic Church where he served at one point an alter boy. Yet, he was never really "gung ho" about religion although he remembered voluntarily "reading the catechism and things" at home. "I believed that stuff, you know, you not supposed to work on Sunday or God is gonna punish you." Owusu also gained exposure to a protestant version of the Christian religion where he remembered learning the doctrine through songs and Bible stories. However, he never developed a preference for either and eventually stopped participating in Christianity altogether because of the contradictions he noticed between the religion's written principles and the church's positions on socio-political issues.

> [W]hen the Vietnam war came i was saying shoot, well God said thou shall not kill, and the Catholic Church could just excommunicate everybody. It should say you're outta the church if you go fight that war. But they wouldn't do that, so i said everybody's connected here somehow. I don't understand how, but this is all bogus. So i stopped going to church then.[291]

Because Owusu was able to notice a direct connection between the Catholic Church and the war in Vietnam, he decided to let go of his religion.

Bilal Sunni-Ali's mother was Presbyterian, but he never developed any strong connection with Christianity; instead, Islam earned his devotion. The Sankori Nubian workshop, a "West African, Islamic Institute" that used music, dance, and theatre to teach about African culture first exposed Sunni-Ali to the religion. Chief among the influential people with whom he connected in that workshop were the Shakurs, a group of families and friends who developed a strong relationship through spirituality, culture, and Black liberation.[292] Sunni-Ali did not relate any

stories of negative experiences with the Christian religion. Instead he questioned why, even as they participated in what Sunni-Ali viewed as Islamic practices through their affiliations with Masonic organizations, his parents could continue to reject the religion in other aspects of their lives. "I didn't consider my family backwards, but just on that part of religion and spirituality, i thought there was a contradiction there. I didn't hate my family for it, i just found a family that i could relate to on a different level."[293] Religion bonded him with a new a cultural and political "family" would impact him in just about every aspect of his life.

Baba Bilal also gained exposure to African religion as a youth through the Dombalowayo African temple. Dombalowayo was a mixture of religious traditions mainly from the Akan and Yoruba of West Africa. "And that religious identification with studying about ancestors, studying about Orisas, it was all part of growing up at that point to a lot of us. It was more learning about the world, but learning about it through elders who had identified – who disassociated themselves with the status quo – with society here."[294] This statement and Sunni-Ali's road to Islam suggest that he valued a spirituality that allowed him to critique the social and political systems of the United States, and that imparted to him a connection with African culture. Finally, it was his connection with these spiritual mediums that prepared him for his future participation with the Provisional Government.

Unlike the other New Afrikans presented here, Mama Killingham fully embraced the Christian religion over the course of her life. She was baptized into the Our Memorial United Church, a Methodist Church in Nashville, as an infant. At the age of thirteen she received her "confirmation" indicating that she understood Christianity, and she remained a Methodist all of her life. Killingham, like many of the Black liberation theologians of the 1960s and 1970s, learned to negotiate Christianity with her desire to create a "new society" instead of allowing the

apparent contradictions between religion and political work to detour her as many others did. For example, she believed that Jesus was Black. "We know that Jesus was not white. He was Black… i know that he was Black and i know that there was scripture to back that up." For Mama Marilyn, there was no contradiction between her religious beliefs and disgust for the political and economic systems of the United States. She stated

> i see no problem with Christianity and the revolution. I do see a problem with Christianity and capitalism. They cannot coexist. Christianity is sharing and capitalism is greed… and as a business major, i truly understand it.[295]

Similarly, Gaidi Obadele was an ordained Christian minister, and Baba Hannibal never gave up his belief in and support of the AME Church, even after he embraced Akan spiritual practice.

Yet, religion (especially Christianity) often exposed young African Americans to the pervasiveness of racism in American society. It allowed them to craft a critique of religion as being a tool of the oppressor, because they saw contradictions between the stated doctrine and the actual practice of religious leaders. However, there were aspects of religion and spirituality that all of those presented here embraced in some way. According to Baba Herman Ferguson, "the schooling, the religious activity, all of that – that was part of my development and growing up and making me who i am."[296] Often, what they accepted helped inspire them to become active in efforts that sought social justice and liberation.

Family Socialization

New Afrikans' immediate family life also had a tremendous effect on how the activists came to understand their place in the world. Regardless of whether they were raised in single-parent homes, within "nuclear" families, or extended family structures, what New Afrikans learned from their parents and other family members were some of the most enduring aspects of

their socialization. Their actions, advice, and affiliations guided the choices made by those who would become New Afrikans.

Sekou Owusu and Nkechi Taifa grew up in "nuclear" families. Owusu came up in a working class family in which his father worked constantly at a liquor store and then as an employee with New York City's transit authority. His mother stayed at home to raise her children and tend to the household before she eventually worked for the local social security office. Taifa was the product of a middle class upbringing in which both parents held master's degrees and worked in education. Both of these New Afrikan citizens learned from their parents, the value of hard work, self-efficacy, and working toward goals that could potentially improve the lives of themselves and others. Baba Sekou also learned from his father the value of being independent; something that he believed led him to support the New Afrikan Independence Movement.[297]

Khalil Mustafa also grew up in a two-parent household, but he indicated that his mother, especially, had a tremendous impact on the development of his political consciousness. She was "something like a pan-Africanist" who encouraged her children to wear their hair natural "like Kwame Nkrumah" and who made sure that the entire household learned about African freedom fighters, including Julius Nyerere and Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba, in particular, was a name that Mustafa heard often in his youth because his mother was involved with a coalition that had formed after the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. Through her organizing, she developed relationships with Clarence 13x (or Father Allah, founder of the Five Percent Nation of Gods and Earths) and Stokely Carmichael (later Kwame Ture) of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Her participation in African independence activism, and the relationships she formed with Black nationalists and revolutionaries surely had a lasting impact on Mustafa who

refused throughout his youth to condone oppression, and later determined that Black people in the United States would only gain true liberation if they secured independent statehood.[298]

Bokeba Trice also implicated his mother as modeling some of his earliest examples of resistance to oppression. She was a single parent and "a NAACP activist. And so early in life we were always involved in integrating something. So We were like the second Black family to move on the block over in northwest Detroit." As the literature of civil rights struggles throughout the country demonstrate, integration was never an easy transition.[299] For Baba Bokeba, it became another early lesson in the power of white nationalism.

> [I]n [19]58 when We first moved on the block that my mother stayed on for years – and i was probably about 5 years old – and i remember coming outside to play one Saturday morning and looked up and down the block and there were about 20 moving vans up and down the street. All the white folks were moving on the same day. And i went back in and asked my mother, i said 'mama, i don't know what's wrong with this block, but everybody's leaving. Is there something you ain't telling me?' [laughter] You know how mothers do, 'baby, when you get older you'll understand.' But i ain't never seen anything like that before.[300]

One may interpret Baba Bokeba's recollection of this experience as childish hyperbole and dismiss it because of that. However, regardless of the accuracy of his recollection, what he believes he saw confirms studies of racism in the North, which demonstrate that even if White people in places like Detroit supported integration in the U.S. South, when African Americans attempted integration in *their* neighborhoods, many White people exchanged their interest in social justice for hostility, fear, and violence.[301] Trice's story also provides us with insight into what led him to become involved with the Provisional Government. Not everyone who witnessed or experienced personally this type of oppression decided to be active in liberation struggle. However, Baba Bokeba learned from his mother's example at an early age that one way to resist and overcome oppression was to organize against it.

Similarly, Mama Killingham found inspiration in her great-grandmother who had been enslaved during her childhood. When Killingham was a child, her great grandmother was a Garveyite whose meetings took place in their home, providing the young girl with her first exposure to political organizing. But, what stuck with her more than her great-grandmother's political activism were the elder's stories.

> [S]he would tell me and my sister… stories around the fireplace about – one of the most graphic ones was when [enslaved Black] girls would reach puberty and these White men would gather, and go and select one nice fresh girl from the camp – this was before she was freed – and take them and they would pour what she called witch hazel – they'd take the young girl that just reached puberty, and pour this – granny would say in spread eagle – and pour this and the girls would be screaming and you could hear them back in the camp. And then these men would run trains on them. And she told that story over and over again. Sometimes more graphic than others. But she would always end, 'don't you eeeever let a White man tech you.' She didn't say "touch." "Tech." And it always ended that way because there had been so much exploitation of – and that never left me. Even to this day.[302]

As Killingham indicated, her great-grandmother taught her two major lessons early in life. The first was that Black people must organize, and the other was to never to allow White men to take advantage of her. That the great-grandmother emphasized sexual violence is significant because the woman was the product of the union between a White man and an enslaved African woman. Second, she likely explained some of Garvey's political positions about interracial unions in terms that helped the great-grand daughter connect such unions with political oppression.

Baba Herman grew up in a large, somewhat picturesque family with his brother and three sisters in Fayetteville, North Carolina. Both of his parents were religious; his mother was a Baptist and his father was the superintendent of Sunday school in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. Besides the Christian religion, they valued education and insisted that he and his siblings use their education to get as far in life as possible. He, and three of his siblings graduated from high school and college. One died before graduating from high school.

His father was employed as a mail carrier with the local post office and his mother stayed at home tending to the children and the house. The Ferguson family observed

> aallll the Christian holidays. All of the non-Christian holidays. All of the political holidays. All of the presidents' birthdays. Whenever there was a day off from school, We observed it, because that meant We didn't have to go to school. And my parents, they would support that. That was the only time We didn't go to school.[303]

Given this seemingly "normal" upbringing, what led Baba Herman to decide to struggle for Black liberation? According to the New Afrikan elder,

> being born in the south, i experienced a more in your face kind of segregation, discrimination, and outright dislike of you. And they made no bones about it. You lived around them, but you weren't a part of them. You didn't go to school with them. You played with them until a certain age. By the time you started going to school, they would go to their separate schools, you go to your school.

Growing up during the 1940s in segregated society could potentially lead to a belief in White superiority. Ferguson chose to fight against Black subordination, ideologically and even physically, during his youth.

His parents, in line with the customs of his community, dictated that he compose himself as a respectable young man so that he would not bring shame or embarrassment to his family. Therefore, even as he clearly challenged racial oppression when the opportunity arose, he still participated in

> all the church groups, and i sang in the choir, and all of that stuff. So i would say that my politics developed in the Black church. And it was through my parents in forcing, dictating the policy, the educational and the religious policy in my family, and drumming in your head that you had to be a good Christian young man, love your parents, and you're a patriotic citizen, and you loved Jesus, and all those things that you – you follow those things, you're considered a good child.[304]

Although Ferguson eventually rejected many of these customs, he attributed his early political education to his family and their insistence that he be a "good Christian young man," even in the

context of "in your face kind of racism" that caused him to question religion and American patriotism.

Societal Awareness

Family life, education, and religious experiences are all important sites of socialization in the early development of people who embraced New Afrikan identity. These aspects of their private and public lives provided the burgeoning movement practitioners with political awareness that led them to seek self-determination as the best method for remedying Black people's problems in the United States and abroad. As important were the moments that, as youth, these New Afrikans spent learning about society away from their immediate families, their schools, or religious authorities. For some New Afrikans, it included being victimized by segregation (de jure and de facto). Some others learned these lessons through their positive interactions with elders and peers. Still others began developing their political consciousness by keeping up with the civil rights struggles taking place throughout the country. They collectively led the subjects of this study to question the practicality of seeking full inclusion in U.S. society.

Khalil Mustafa learned at a young age to rebel against oppression because of his experiences in school. Some of his actions earned him time in state and federal detention centers, like the New York State Agriculture and Industrial School, where he claimed to have witnessed and experienced brutality and torture at the hands of those in power over him and other Black youth.

> I mean, they used to do things like put a dog excrement, or shit, in our hair. And they used to bury us in holes, they would put us – i forgot what they call them things – but they would put us like in a shallow grave and it had a door on there and they would lock us in there. Sometimes they would put in us in a hole where they disposed of dead chickens. Yeah, it was very brutal. There's some other people too that i know that are alive today that was there. Cause a lot of people, when you talk about these things, they say that couldn't have really happened, right. But it started from the first day that We

> were incarcerated at the place. And our people had to come up and threaten to go to authorities to try to quell that action. But it went on anyway.[305]

Baba Khalil refused to accept such treatment, and claimed to organize other inmates in an attempt to put an end to the facility's repressive and abusive treatment. More specifically, he "advocated like a boycott of recreation, boycott of eating… boycott of work because that was the first time [he] really understood the machinations of slavery." He also notified his parents of the treatment and they waged a legal battle against the facility on behalf of their son and the other incarcerated youth. Further Baba Khalil organized his fellow inmates to protest police brutality taking place outside of the correctional facilities in which he was imprisoned. Therefore, by the time he became interested in participating in the revolutionary efforts of the Black Panther Party and the Republic of New Afrika, he had already gained a wealth of experience with organizing for the needs of his people.[306]

Mama Iyaluua never spent any time as prison, but as a young lady growing up in Brooklyn, New York City she recognized that society was set up in ways that were oppressive to Black folks. She recalled that White storeowners were always cheating their Black patrons. And she stated that even when sifting through ads to find a place to live, Black people had "to figure out whether they took Black folk – this was Brooklyn, New York – whether you could move from one area to the other. You couldn't, but We were aware of that." Housing discrimination and hostile relationships with White people who owned local businesses were just two ways that Ferguson learned about the makeup of society.

> And so, that consciousness was, i think, a part of all of our lives. People reacted differently. As i became older, i became more militant. More outspoken – i was always outspoken about it. But [became] even *more* outspoken.

Even in her childhood and youth, Mama Iyaluua indicated always having to be "prepared not to take any crap from anybody," because any given White New Yorker "was always ready to put

his foot in your neck if he could."[307] Perpetually primed for battle, Ferguson learned to challenge the forces that victimized her.

Preparedness was a theme in other New Afrikans' recollections of their pre-activist childhood, especially in situations in which the individual was not immersed in a predominately Black community. But not everyone insisted on lashing out against each individual act of racism. Sometimes the struggle manifested as a subtler, though no less important, struggle to maintain one's sense of humanity. For example, Baba Hannibal T. Afrik, grew up in Newport, Rhode Island where he learned to resist on a daily basis a similar "in your face kind of" racism as that described by many southerners and which was infused in just about every aspect of the city's structure. He felt that people did everything they could "toward making you white nationalist." Further,

> People talking about integration. I suffered from integration. So ain't nobody gon' tell me nothing about White folks… i had to work two jobs, working… at the golf course during the day… [and] the bowling alley at night… had White folks calling me all types of names, but i had to take it cause i had to come up with at least some kind of resources to keep myself going.

Some of Afrik's other memories of Newport included having to read the book, *Little Black Sambo*, as part of his elementary school curriculum, and never having one Black teacher the entire time he lived there. He maintained that one indicator White supremacy was the belief amongst African Americans that to be considered dark skinned and called "black" was an insult. "Wasn't nothing beautiful about being Black." In these hostile surroundings, Afrika's family and AME Church were his only sources of affirmation as an African until he moved to Ohio to attend Central State University.[308]

These men and women who became politically active in Black liberation struggles at some point in their lives did not decide to get involved simply because they saw other people

being politically active or because they had friends and family who presented them with perspectives that challenged the status quo. Although important, these are not the only factors that explain why each individual ultimately decided to participate in or associate with New Afrikan independence struggle. Instead, a variety of determinants influenced them to dedicate their lives to the cause of liberation. The background information on these various individuals is important and useful because it helps us contextualize each individual's decision to become involved. After developing that context, we can now discuss their decisions to become activists and begin to analyze the impact those choices had on their lives.

Re-Birth: On Becoming a New Afrikan

Besides getting the background information on the New Afrikans presented in this chapter, it is useful to discuss the moment that they chose to become involved with the Provisional Government and the NAIM. On the one hand, I am concerned with why activists decided to involve themselves with the RNA. What attracted people to the independence movement as opposed to movements concerned with achieving liberation within the United States? More importantly, though, I explore the process by which various individuals joined the movement. Although they expressed a variety of different routes to becoming conscious New Afrikans, they largely shared one factor: typically, acquaintances and friends provided an opportunity for the people in this study to become New Afrikan citizens.[309]

Sekou Owusu posited an idea that may help us begin to understand what distinguished New Afrikans from other Black revolutionaries of their time. He stated, "I really figure that people with a particular bent get involved in this. You know meaning that you have a… certain way of looking at things that are different from other peoples' perspectives."[310] That "way of looking at things" includes at its foundation, the belief that independence is necessary for Black

liberation. People like Killingham may confirm the idea put forward by Baba Sekou. She considered herself defiant as a young woman. Her defiance partially influenced her to take up business administration as her undergraduate major in college. Defiance positioned her to become a trusted adviser to students who participated in demonstrations through RAM at Central State University during the early- to mid-1960s.[311]

However, defiance is not an adequate explanation of what motivated her to join the NAIM. As this chapter has already made clear, Mama Killingham learned from people like her great-grandmother how to resist oppression. As a woman who, during the 1960s kept getting "Blacker and Blacker," her socialization and prior experiences with RAM revealed to her the strengths and weakness of seeking liberation within the U.S. body-politics, and gave her the predisposition to accept the idea of New Afrikan independence. The people she met through RAM facilitated a connection with activists who would later found the Provisional Government, which she thought offered the optimal prospect for attaining true Black empowerment.

Killingham became active in the RNA in the early 1970s after living in Maine for about twelve years. In Maine, she "was a minister in the largest Women's Job Corp Center in the nation." The Corp "had taken these urban, Hispanics and Blacks from New York, Detroit, Chicago, and put them way out in the middle of nowhere, Poland Spring, Maine where they [bottle] the water." There, she felt isolated because she was becoming "Blacker and Blacker" and the Black Power movement was continuing to grow. She decided to move to Chicago where she would have closer contact with her political comrades.

> So when We formed in 1968, March 31st, it was very turbulent time. And at that time i was in Maine, so i certainly wasn't in Detroit. I'm not one of the original signers of the Declaration of Independence… But i knew quite a few of them. And of course when the Battle of New Bethel took place the following year. In [19]69, everybody knew someone who was in the independence movement.[312]

The idea that "everybody knew someone who was in the independence movement" was not limited to Mama Killingham. Amongst the people interviewed for this study, everyone already had exposure to the idea of independence or to people who were directly involved in the RNA prior to their decisions to became involved with the Provisional Government.

Richard Bokeba Trice and "Elder" Michael Balogun, maintained close associations during their youth and young adulthood with Detroiters who were directly connected to the PG-RNA. Trice lived about two blocks away from Imari Obadele and his family during the late-1960s. He had already "started getting into a little bit of activism if you will, probably about a year before that. Some young brothers in my neighborhood came together. We just started doing some thangs in the neighborhood." At the time, he considered himself to be "following Martin Luther King's philosophy of non-violence." After being introduced to the RNA by Imari Obadele, II, Trice "started getting involved with some people from the Nation and got actively involved and joined." He soon became the Minister of Information in Detroit, a Legionnaire, and a martial arts instructor. Being a childhood friend of one of the RNA founders allowed Trice to place himself in a position to accomplish these significant tasks between the ages of fifteen and nineteen.

Elder Balogun became involved with the RNA during the summer of 1968. He had already been undergoing a process of becoming a revolutionary after hearing Malcolm X speak, learning of his assassination, experiencing the devastation of the 1967 rebellion, and then the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Those bookmarks in his life compelled him to cut off his "process," begin developing a Pan-Africanist consciousness, and seek formations through which he could bring about the changes he thought were necessary for the liberation of Black people. He felt that the NAIM provided the most opportunity.

Other factors in Balogun's life contributed to his attraction to New Afrikan independence work. For example, he attended New Bethel Baptist Church as a child, and he came into contact with Gaidi Obadele who regularly visited the church. Brother Gaidi had a reputation amongst "street brothers" like Balogun, because he consistently defended them in court. Elder Balogun also was a member of the Shrine of the Black Madonna, where a liberation-oriented theology guided the message and work of the Shrine's patron saint, Reverend Albert Cleage. In other words, once Balogun had made the decision to devote his resources to Black liberation, there were enough Black nationalist and revolutionary organizations in Detroit to provide him with those opportunities to explore his evolving revolutionary politics. Meeting and developing a cordial relationship with Brother Gaidi provided Balogun with the specific route to the RNA as a Legionnaire. In fact, he was responsible for organizing Brother Gaidi's security team.[313]

Nkechi Taifa actively sought out the RNA before she met activists with a direct connection to the NAIM. Her journey began when she was a politically active youth who decided to utilize U.S. law as one method of serving in struggle for Black liberation. Brutal attacks on the BPP and the trials, incarcerations, and deaths of those activists convinced her that the Black revolution was in need of lawyers. As a college student Taifa became interested in the idea of creating an independent all-Black nation after hearing Khalid Muhammad speak on the topic. A year later, she learned of the Republic of New Afrika and shortly thereafter sent the imprisoned Imari Obadele a letter expressing her interest in the independence movement. Because of his incarceration and relative isolation from the movement, Brother Imari replied to Taifa "with a whole laundry list of tasks he needed done." Essentially, he placed her in charge of creating the Committee to Free the RNA-11.[314]

Like Taifa, Owusu also learned of the RNA during his college years. He had just completed his first year at City College of New York, where an English professor helped him realize how ignorant he was of Black culture and history. Feeling ashamed of his ignorance, Owusu resolved to learn about his history and involve himself with anything political. He recalled that

> the first time i heard about the Republic of New Afrika was in '68 – was during the summer – and might have been in the dorm or at City College… so it might have been in September. And i think it was the brother who was the Minister of Culture. He had a place that was on 116th Street… but they were talking about We just declared ourselves independent, and We have this nation, the Republic of New Afrika.[315]

Owusu soon met Baba Herman who was one of the signers of the New Afrikan "Declaration of Independence"; and he met Mutulu Shakur, a young New Afrikan activist, who participated in a program called Black Concern. Owusu began volunteering there, as well as with a campaign to elect Ferguson for senator on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. Through the connections he had made from that point on he gained a lot of exposure to the RNA and turmoil centered around the 1969 New Bethel Incident.

> So they had the shootout in Detroit and one cop was killed. People were brought up on trial. I got to meet some of the people. At least i thought i knew the guy before he got put on trial. He was a Puerto Rican who was in the Republic of New Afrika. And i knew him before – i think i did – or maybe i met him afterward. But i started meeting all these people. So i became a citizen in [19]70… What i liked mostly about them was that they didn't talk about White folks. It wasn't about complaining about White folks. It was about what We're gonna build and what We can do. It wasn't like White folks did this. Cause that was what everybody was talking about. They liked to complain about White folks. So i was more attracted – and i told Herman that, and i told Mutulu that. We [were] talking about building for Black people what We gotta do. So it wasn't like We didn't have any complaints about White people. That's how i remember it.[316]

Since becoming a conscious New Afrikan, Owusu held many positions within the PG-RNA, including the presidency from 2008 and 2011.

Mustafa became interested in the NAIM after seeing the Obadeles on William Buckley's television show, *Firing Line*.[317] He had just been released from a sentence at Woodburn Prison, and their arguments for an independent Black nation caused him to want to "get down" with the PG-RNA. Mustafa had already considered himself a "separatist" and had been politically active in various prisons. Further, he "had been down with the Black Liberator's Party," and sought membership with the BPP. A sister he knew suggested he contact Fulani Sunni-Ali, daughter of then-RNA Minister of Defense, Alajo Adegbalola, and a prominent New Afrikan in her own right. "[S]o i called Fulani up and said 'what's happening with the Party?' She said, 'Well i'm not in the Party anymore, i'm with the Republic of New Afrika, that's what's happening.'" What Sunni-Ali emphasized in her conversation with Baba Khalil was that the RNA sought independent land. As a self-styled "separatist," talk of land appealed to Mustafa. He decided to get involved and took the Oath of Allegiance later that year at an Eastern Regional Conference.

From the moment Baba Khalil took the oath in 1969 to the present, he never relented on his RNA citizenship. Even though he has spent much of his time in various New York State correctional facilities, he found ways to serve the Provisional Government. According to Mustafa,

> Well, one time i held the position of Local Minister of Justice. That was back in the early 70s. I held that position and then when i was incarcerated in 1971… i was made, i guess, consul head for the prisons by Brother Alajo Adegbalola, you know to former a vice president and Minister of Defense. I had really two positions, before [becoming the Minister of Youth in 2008].

Like Mama Killingham and Nkechi Taifa, Mustafa was already interested in the idea of Black independence from the U.S. government. Because he knew some of the people already involved with the NAIM, he was proactive about finding ways to participate in the effort. He, and many of the others presented here, reaffirm the argument that Sekou Owusu made about

having developed an inclination toward independence. For them, the PG-RNA allowed them to act upon their pre-existing beliefs. Others, including Bokeba Trice and Balogun Anderson, did not necessarily express any strong affinity with the idea of independence before the met people directly involved. But their critique of their situations and knowledge about other formations led them to believe, once invited to participate with independence efforts, that it was a better option for them.

So far, I have detailed the lives of several New Afrikans from their childhood and youth into their early adulthood when they first became active with the Provisional Government. Their experiences with various for of oppression encouraged taught them to develop a critique of oppression that led them to seek New Afrikan independence. Many of them built relationships with other New Afrikans who provided them a direct connection to the PG-RNA. This discourse is imperative for thinking critically about who was attracted to revolutionary political activism, and how various people became involved with the struggle for New Afrikan independence. I have asked why these activists chose the RNA as opposed to other Black political formations, and have attempted to discuss some factors that contributed to those decisions. Supplying details about the evolution of activists imparts greater insights into the biographical or life-course impact of social movement activism. It is one thing to use life-course factors to demonstrate how activists and sympathizers of various social movements potentially deviated from the social norms of the broader society. However, it is much more incisive to provide a biographical sketch of various individuals' lives from childhood through their time as activists so that scholars can better pinpoint the changes social movement activism made in their lives.

Now turning to activists' engagement with New Afrikan Political Science, this chapter explains the various ways NAPS potentially impacted New Afrikans' perspectives on education

and employment, marriage and family, and spirituality. How did New Afrikans' political activism and worldviews prior to their participation with the NAIM impact the independence movement? Most importantly, this discussion should expand on the idea that New Afrikans found ways to exercise self-determination in various aspects of their lives that often go overlooked in the literature of social movements.

New Life: Lifestyle Politics as Everyday Assertions of Self-Determination

The PG-RNA provided a platform for its adherents to work toward the goals they shared in common, which included a total restructuring of society and the rethinking of how to organize their daily lives based on New Afrikan Political Science. This chapter has displayed the lives of several New Afrikans up to the point that they became involved with the RNA. Now, following a similar pattern as their childhood and youth, I will discuss how participation in the NAIM influenced New Afrikans in the areas of education and/or employment, family life, and spirituality.

Education and Employment

The New Afrikan Oath charges pledgees to devote all of their resources, as well as "the total power of my mortal life" to the pursuit of Black liberation and independence.[318] The New Afrikans in this study made several adjustments, including some that affected their educational and career goals. They were, in varying degrees (as indicated in chapter 3), able to live as New Afrikan citizens in American society.

When Baba Hannibal left Rhode Island, he moved to Ohio and attended Central State University where he graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in biology. He also received military training at Fort Knox, and was employed by the United States Army for thirteen years. He

> was a company commander over 220 men [whom] We took in the streets when the rebellion occurred in '68. And then my final assignment was intelligence, battalion intelligence office. I was on the fast track; they were gonna make a Colin Powell out of me. I would have been a colonel in another 20 years. But the racism in the national guard… i had to change my loyalties and resign my commission after thirteen years in '69.

That change of loyalties, specifically, was Baba Hannibal's decision to dedicate his efforts to the liberation of Black people. By the time he was sent to help contain rebellions, he had already decided that he wanted to be a full-time revolutionary. An educator at Farragut High School (now Farragut Career Academy) in Chicago, Baba Hannibal learned before he became involved with the RNA that he needed to participate in the efforts of educating Black children and youth about themselves and their African identity. He began working toward those efforts by establishing and running an African-centered independent school. Further, he maintained that African peopled needed to become proficient in science and math so that they could be useful to Black liberation efforts in the future, particularly with regard to being able to help the Republic of New Afrika become self-sustainable after independence. Baba Hannibal, since the mid-1960s, worked in the field of education teaching science and military science until he retired in the 1990s and eventually moved to Mississippi.[319]

Other New Afrikans, including Chokwe Lumumba, Taifa, and the Fergusons had chosen their career paths before they became New Afrikan independence activists. Both Lumumba and Taifa decided to study law before they learned about the RNA. The Fergusons both were educators with master's degrees when the Black Government Conference occurred. However, they all indicated that the Black Liberation movement more generally, and the RNA in particular, played a major role in helping them determine how to use their chosen careers in service to the NAIM. For example, even though both Lumumba and Taifa had already decided to study law, their involvement with the RNA helped them decide what type of law practice to specialize in,

and helped them better understand how they could utilize the law to serve New Afrikans and other oppressed people. Lumumba's political leanings had a major impact on his professional career, because he took up cases such as those stemming from the 1981 Brinks Expropriation. Defending supposed "terrorists" earned him the contempt of judges and others within the legal community who tried, on at least one occasion, to have his admittance to the bar revoked. Even when facing these possibilities, Lumumba continued to use to the law to New Afrikans' advantage.[320]

Former Legionnaire, Balogun Anderson, began his career in computers as a direct result of his participation in the New Afrikan Independence Movement. He stated "i actually was a prisoner of war during the early part of the [19]70s" because of an "independent action," or an activity that the Provisional Government did not publicly or officially sanction. In this case, he participated in a gun battle that resulted in the serious wounding of some Detroit police officers. While incarcerated at Michigan State Prison in Jackson, he began learning about computers. He recalled "getting into computers when i got locked up… i started getting into computers at Jackson Community College, i will never forget it. They used to take you downtown to Jackson, MI at night to the computer classes." When he was paroled in 1973, Balogun moved to New York City because he did not want to be in contact with the same police officers with whom he engaged in warfare, a choice he partially based on the murder of Chaka Fuller (see Chapter 2). While in New York, he enrolled at NYU where he "got into a work-training program… I was working for them as a computer operator in the evening part-time and then going to school and driving a cab and working in music."[321] Relocating to New York probably saved Balogun's life.

Taifa worked full time at an African-centered school, Watoto ya Shule as she attended to law school at night. The child of two educators, Sister Nkechi was already involved with Black

liberation movement efforts, which may partially explain why she chose to teach at the African-centered school. In addition to her full-time job and coursework, she was the primary organizer for the Committee to Free the RNA-11 along with Reverend Shakamusa Barashango, a preacher at the Temple of Black Messiah in Washington, D.C., and a printer by night. The two scripted letters that included the picture of the half-naked RNA-11, the Committee's logo. Further, Nkechi spoke on behalf of the imprisoned New Afrikans. Those speaking engagements taught her to develop her public speaking style, which she claimed was in imitation of Brother Imari. When asked whether she was ever paid for the work she did for the Provisional Government, she laughed and answered negatively. However, the work brought her into contact with "luminaries," including John Conyers, Sonia Sanchez, and Haki Madhubuti and required her to communicate with Fidel Castro. Although her political work did not "start with the RNA," working on behalf of the Black nation nurtured her and contributed to her political maturity."[322] Therefore, Sister Nkechi attributes much of her "political upbringing" to working for the RNA.

Trice indicated that in Detroit some New Afrikans did receive pay for the work they did, though not through the PG-RNA.

> i think it was maybe the summer of 1970 when the city had a program called the Neighborhood Youth Corps. It was basically the youth summer job program. And We managed to plug into that and so our youth – the young folks back then – We were actually getting paid to organize and you know the nation building classes and the whole thang. It was amazing cause i remember… i was getting paid like $37.50 a week. To us that was big money.

Even though he was employed by the city at that point and beginning to rethink his participation with the Provisional Government, "the RNA and the things that [he] learned about nation building were really the foundation for everything that [he] got into the rest of [his] life." His employment choices and his conception of family were two major manifestations of the lessons he learned through the practice of nation building.

Trice left the Provisional Government in 1970 after the birth of his first son. Having a child forced him to realize that he needed to find a way to support the new life that he helped bring into the world. That need became more critical when the child's mother left, making Trice the sole caretaker of him. However, Trice never relented in his desire work on behalf of Black people, even if not through the RNA. He continued "to advocate for the community, to fight for resources – i had a lot of jobs where i had influence or access to major funding that was coming into the city of Detroit and my whole philosophy was to make sure that it got to our people. And i was successful at being able to do that for over a lot of years." He attributed the things he learned as a young man in the PG-RNA for being "the motivating factor" behind his future decisions. Some of his work allowed him to organize youth and homeless folks in Detroit through organizations like Project Lead, which he headed for several years, and through the Hunger Action Coalition of Michigan.[323]

Regardless of whether one received pay for his or her work with the RNA, the New Afrikans featured here found some type of fulfillment in movement activism. Mama Killingham went so far as to refuse to even consider her role in the RNA as "work."

> I don't consider the movement to be work. It's a duty. It's an obligation. You owe it to yourself to get respect… as far as involvement, i participated, i did both sides. I did the civil rights stuff, the freedom rides.[324]

She served the Provisional Government until her death in December 2009. For some, dedicating one's life to the struggle was far more important than being paid a salary.

With regard to educational and career options, these New Afrikans made choices that allowed them to align their career goals with the independence movement. Others like Elder Balogun made his career choice because of the circumstances in which he was placed due to his participation with the Black Legion. That reciprocal interaction between activists and the

movement is an important aspect of Lifestyle Politics in that it helps us determine how activism impacted participants' life courses. But there are other aspects of New Afrikan Political Science that impacted people's lives, including family life. How did they negotiate the Black nationalist ideologies with their own thoughts about family based on how they were raised? How did New Afrikans find empowerment as they shaped their families in alignment with New Afrikan Political Science? I take up this question next.

The New Afrikan Family

Black nationalists of diverse perspectives developed a variety of ideas about the Black family during the 1960s and 1970s. Among them, the Nation of Islam, Maulana Karenga and the Us Organization, and the Black Panther Party (insomuch as they were nationalists) have received much attention and analysis.[325] The scholarship on these organizations demonstrates that although there were some distinctions between the various formations depending on their political and cultural emphasis, many of them had the same core tenants about family, which included the following: At their foundation, families consist of a man, a woman (or women), and children. A family may include immediate relatives, very close friends, and comrades in the movement. Next, they posited that *strong* Black families were vital in the overall success of the Black Liberation movement. Finally, Black families should not look to European and/or capitalist models of family as inspiration in building their own. The Provisional Government worked these conceptions of family into NAPS.

In some of their earlier writings, Gaidi and Imari Obadele indicated that the concept of family for New Afrikans had to resist the influence of U.S. social and political norms. Instead of modeling themselves and their desires on the frameworks of their oppressors, New Afrikans should look to "African tradition," as well as their contemporary socio-political needs, to build

their families and decide their purpose. Brother Gaidi explained in an *Esquire* magazine interview and again in a 1970 speech in Ontario how New Africans' intimate relationships could function. They needed conform to "African custom," which meant that men could marry more than one woman. Because, they argued, the Creator had established the sexes with the explicit purpose of creating new life, and due to the slightly greater proportion of women to men, polygany was acceptable for the sovereign and independent Black nation they were building. Besides, polygany would ensured that each woman had access to a man and no woman would not be forced to "resort" to same-sex intimacy.[326]

Not everyone was interested in participating in polygamous relationships. Sister Nkechi decided against using the name "Ajanaku" because of its connection with a polygamous family in Tennessee. For Dr. Jackson, the RNA stance on polygamy was one of the factors that prevented her from becoming a citizen of record. However, Queen Mother Moore responded favorably to men having multiple wives. Afeni Shakur, a Black Panther with strong connections to the NAIM, entered into a polygamous relationship, which was based more on her husband's religion – he was Muslim – than any Black nationalist ideologies. She stated in her biography that the arrangement was problematic for her because of the pain it caused the other woman, not because she disagreed with that structure.[327]

General Rashid agreed with the idea that a man should be allowed to take more than one wife. In fact, during the 1970s, two of his wives were Legionnaires who formed part of his personal security unit.

> Two of the security was my wife. I will talk about one of them cause she's a major figure that we trying to make her some kinda like Queen Mother Moore of the military… she was highly skilled. She was – in that group she was the oldest wife and she was older than most of the females that was military. That was her apparatus with those unless it was training or something. She was one of the first national trainers that We had – i'm talking about that was a female that had both male and females under her command. She

> solved the problems herself. If a brother did something to disobey her rule, she told him to go get his gear. She got beat up a lot of times, but she got the respect.[328]

The reference to Queen Mother Moore is important, because it signifies how much respect Rashid's wife had earned within the military structure of the RNA. It is also pivotal to emphasize that he had more than two wives, but decided to talk mainly about the women who were a part of the Legion. Even as he acknowledged that he held many sexist views in his lifetime, he never doubted that women could serve in military positions with men. His emphasis on his Legionnaire wives is instructive of how he tried to negotiate his admitted sexism with the needs of the movement.

Next, Rashid believed that having more than one wife was not just consistent with the views of the Provisional Government, but that it was informed by his religious beliefs.

> I'm Muslim. I believe in polygamy but i don't believe in pimpin'. You understand? And one reason i don't practice [polygamy] now is cause it can get expensive, cause if you do it according to the Qur'an, you have to take care of them. Whatever that family is that she brings, you have to take care of 'em. So that can get expensive.

Here, Rashid made a clear distinction between having multiple wives and pimping. He indicated that running around with several women was not his intention. Instead, his relationships with his wives included the responsibility of providing for each woman and whatever "she brings" to that arrangement, more specifically, her children. General Rashid explained that he had twenty children, "seven or eight" of whom were his biologically.[329]

In some ways, Rashid's comments follow a philosophy similar to the patriarchal structures that various feminists began to challenge, especially during the 1960s and 1970s.[330] Yet, there are some aspects of his outlook that depart from that logic. Even though Rashid upheld many aspects of patriarchy and considered some of his own views and practices sexist, he indicated that even in his most sexist moments during the 1960s and 1970s, he always advocated

for what Black feminist Linda La Rue called, "role integration." He believed in giving women the same responsibilities, protections, and promotions within the PG-RNA that were guaranteed for men.[331] Marilyn Killingham also credited Rashid with being the most vocal advocate and supporter of her presidency in the 1980s. Finally, during conversation, he was adamant about giving both men and women credit for the contributions they made to the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the PG-RNA.

But one must keep in mind that Rashid's anti-sexist stance pertained only to the struggle for Black Liberation, not in his personal or home life.

> We had the government… and We had business to take of and We was pretty disciplined in terms of leaving the baggage at the door when We was entering the arena [of Liberation struggle]. And We got to be pretty good at that. So i never had no problem with none of my wives.[332]

The baggage they left at the door was the disagreements and disputes that occurred within their household. That General Rashid believed they were able to prevent such tension from getting in the way of their liberation struggle responsibilities suggests that they valued New Afrikan independence enough to try and keep their personal strife "at the door."

Finally, General Rashid's comments apparently challenge the concept of the personal being the political. His advocacy of separating his public and private spheres make it seem as though he held applied two different philosophies depending on whether he was at work or at home. However, it must be remembered that even the wife of whom he speaks so highly was still ranked lower than him. She still ultimately had to follow his orders, not the reverse. Like their home arrangement, he still held a dominant position in their relationship.

Baba Hannibal also put forth a patriarchal, heteronormative orientation toward family. Although he did not marry multiple wives, during mid-twentieth century he insisted on building his family according to conventional "bread winner" and "housewife" paradigm. And he was the

sole "head" of his household. When he became active in the Black liberation movement and began to strongly identify as African, his wife and children did the same. Especially once he and his comrades created an independent school, Baba Hannibal's wife "saw the benefits, [and] she began to become more supportive." From there, he and his family changed their names, began to dress differently, and exchanged European traditions for African-inspired ones. He explained,

> i told my kids We ain't celebrating Christmas no more, and when people would say Merry Christmas, what do you want for Christmas… they had enough strength to say We don't celebrate Christmas, We celebrate Kwanzaa. But that was because the reinforcement, my wife and i being on the agreement and the chillun following our examples. And when they saw they could get Kwanzaa gifts, that made it more palatable…

In some ways, Baba Hannibal's dedication to the movement and his views worked out in ways that allowed for harmony within his family.

Still, discord periodically caused havoc within the Afrik family because of the large amount of energy Baba Hannibal placed in the liberation movement, the transitions the family underwent because of their rapidly changing views, and due to the dangers of being a revolutionary in the 1960s and 1970s. Even though his wife "respected" him enough to allow him to lead the family into that turbulent arena, Afrik admitted that he

> made a whole lot of mistakes trying to be [a revolutionary] – jeopardized my family, my job, and my health… but in retrospect i spent eighteen years doing double duty working at school and at Shule [the African-centered independent school]. Almost destroyed marriage and my family, resources and all that.[333]

Many would probably consider Baba Hannibal and his family a model for others in the movement to follow. Consistent with the New Afrikan Oath, Baba Hannibal dedicated most of his resources to the movement, both in the independent school he was helping run and because of the roles he served within the Provisional Government. His family seemed to adapt as his views

evolved, and even though they went through many transitions, they were able to maintain their family unit.

Owusu verbalized the ideal New Afrikan family when he stated that the concept

> goes beyond the Republic of New Afrika… you have the creation of the new man, the new woman. So the whole thing was a rebirth about New Afrika, that's why it's the Republic of *New* Afrika. So during the whole movement thing that goes beyond just the creation of the Republic of New Afrika is that idea that We gotta be new people, new birth, We gotta take new values, We gotta get the slave master's stuff off. That's always been in the theme of the movement of Black nationalism.[334]

Therefore, he continued, the New Afrikan family should be a reflection of those ideas and values; it should be "that place where you're supposed to value what is more Afrikan as far your motif… you're supposed to read a certain type of way, you're supposed to try new values in the sense that you're not supposed to bring all that stuff from off the street, running around with other women and that type of stuff." Further,

> So what was new about it, the New Afrikan family, i just see them practicing Kwanzaa, dealing with more [African] values. But it's the same kinda thing, you know the family, you celebrate some cultural things. [In the] Western [family], it's Christmas, but New Afrikan family is Kwanzaa or some other holidays that are relevant to you. You basically want to send your children to an independent school. You don't want to send them to a public school. It's about – to me it represents getting all the other stuff out ya head. So, when i was married to my son's mother, We kinda did some of that. We did a lot of involvement together in the Republic of New Afrika and other organizations. And that was a part of the New Afrikan family as i thought, being involved in the community, to uplift the community and change things. So to give yourself different names, change your name so that you're no longer European, so that's that kind of stepping out the box, being independent. I guess that's the sense of the whole movement in general. You gotta be independent. Separate yourself from White America. Black nationalism was like that.[335]

In other words, the New Afrikan family was supposed to embody and reflect the ideals of the independence movement. Although the practices that Owusu mentioned are not endemic in the RNA, the conscious desire to perform them in concert with achieving statehood and independent land distinguish New Afrikans from other Black Power formations.

The other New Afrikans interviewed were successful in achieving this ideal to varying degrees, especially when the focus became how successful they were in raising their children to accept New Afrikan Political Science. Brother Bokeba suggested that his children demonstrated in various aspects of their lives that they have embraced New Afrikan, or at least Black nationalist, ideology.

> All of my children have Afrikan names. I have four children. Seven grandchildren. Many of my grandchildren have Afrikan names. So they were raised in a New Afrikan household. And as youngsters they traveled with me to conferences and conventions around the country. So, We didn't celebrate Christmas in our household, We celebrated Kwanzaa. They were raised in a very cultural African surrounding.

His oldest son, especially, has shown interest in and agreement with Bokeba's political beliefs. He gave his children Afrikan names, decided to wear African clothing, and remained intellectually and socially engaged with the Black community and its struggles. His other children accepted these ideals in more subtle ways.[336]

However, family relationships were not always as idyllic as the concept Sekou expressed. Mama Killingham and Sister Nkechi both tried to raise their children as New Afrikans. However, their children rejected the overt aspects of the NAPS, especially its positions on racial solidarity, New Afrikan self-determination, and the war against White supremacy, which the Killinghams' son and Taifa's daughter characterize as "racist." Instead, they came to favor liberal notions of multi-culturalism, one for religious reasons, and the other for social reasons. Killingham's only child converted to Islam as a young man in college during the 1980s. He came to understand any type of racial pride as contrary to the will and purpose of Allah. On the other hand, he embraced the idea that capitalism is destructive. Again, he couched his reasons in Islam as opposed to New Afrikan Political Science.[337]

Elder Balogun neither gave his children Afrikan names, nor did he raise them to be New Afrikans. He attributed that to his arrangement with their mother to whom he was married, but legally separated from in 1966. He maintained, "She got some level of consciousness but not that much." Another possible reason for not giving his children Afrikan names was the simple fact that he did not come into his own consciousness until after the 1967 Detroit Rebellion. Soon after he became involved with the movement, he may not have had much regular contact with them because of his responsibilities with the Black Legion, which required him to travel across the country on a regular basis, and because of his incarceration beginning in 1970.[338]

More research would likely demonstrate more variety in the familial consequences of being New Afrikan revolutionaries. Although some New Afrikans were able to empower themselves and some of their loved ones by replacing European traditions with African and African-inspired ones, others found that challenging. What is presented here begins to demonstrate how deep the impact of activism could run, depending on a variety of factors, not least being the previously held notions that people brought with them into the movement, including their perspectives on religion and spirituality.

New Afrikan Spirituality

Unlike the New Afrikan family, there are not any stipulations that identify any singular entity called New Afrikan spirituality. The preamble to the New Afrikan Ujamaa states that, "The supreme purpose of all of our activity, economic and non-economic – in short, the purpose of life – shall be to solve the mysteries of life and death."[339] The claim is echoed in the RNA's Declaration of Independence and the New Afrikan Creed and finds complimentary references to scripture at the opening of some of Brother Imari's published texts.[340] Imari Obadele and others had, at one point, likened nation-building to a larger divine purpose; but that perspective was not

confined to any one religious or spiritual belief. Instead, it embodied elements of Christianity, Islam, Yoruba, Akan, and other religious systems. Because religion played such an important role in the developing consciousness of several New Afrikans, it is important to investigate how various RNA members understood spirituality as adults in the movement. Did they see their work as serving a higher power or purpose? Did any New Africans – like Mama Killingham – practice what may resemble Black liberation theology? Did spirituality or religion help the activists interviewed here to interpret New Afrikan Political Science?

Baba Hannibal stated that he was "involved with African spirituality from a large ecumenical vein. But i'm still in the AME Church cause i believe that there's hope." Claiming that he followed King and appreciated the work he and other preachers did to make the Christian church useful to the Black community, Afrik stated, "i'm not gonna turn the other cheek and that kind of stuff. I respected him for what he believed, what he lived, and what he was prepared to die for." Speaking as a lifelong member of the AME church, he argued "that to me is where AME church has failed cause We still in the church" as opposed to feeding and clothing people out in the community. "You talk about Christ, Christ was a revolutionary; he was an activist. He was out there with the people." When he was still based in Chicago, Baba Hannibal was able to take some of his activist programs to the AME church. "Had i not brought programs to the church in Chicago, they wouldn't have been accomplished if i were outside the church." Afrik made full use of Christianity as a tool for the New Afrikan revolution.

Although Baba Hannibal remained a member of the AME church, and believed that revolutionaries must be more involved with the church in order to accomplish some of their goals, he also came to embrace African spirituality, especially that practiced by the Akan. In these ways, maintained a connection with an institution through which he believed he could

create programs and proliferate the ideas of the NAIM. Further, he could nourish his spiritual connection with his ancestors and also bond with other Africans across the diaspora.

Other New Afrikans have also learned to embrace African spirituality, sometimes along with Christianity, and other times by itself. For example, Nkechi Taifa, who claimed that she attended Sunday school in her childhood and youth, came to practice African spirituality in her adulthood. Not confined to any one spiritual system, she participated in both the Yoruba and Akan Temples.

Sekou Owusu never got into any religions after he left the Catholic Church. He never embraced Islam, which was popular amongst many of his associates, and he did not look for any other forms of Christianity. Instead

> Over the years i started reading stuff that deals with more of that, your power within. I am a subscriber to [the idea that] i am a god. You know, ancient Kemet talked about becoming gods and you worked on your internal stuff to raise your consciousness. I'm kind of on that bent. I'm not into organized church. I say i had that already. I seen other people jump from Muslim to this to African tradition. I kinda lean to some of that. I might do that more than i would do organized church.[341]

Having "had that already" was also a notion embraced by Baba Herman and Dr. Njeri Jackson, although to different degrees. Whereas Baba Herman claimed not to know anything about an almighty God, Jackson did not completely discredit the idea of spirituality. Instead, she described herself as agnostic.[342]

Trice stayed away from Christianity for most of his adult life because of his experiences with Catholicism. However, he did try to find ways to "develop spiritual understanding" by reading various religious and spiritual texts. Bokeba stated, "i read the Qur'an; i read the Bible, i read the Egyptian Book of the Dead, [and] the Kabalah" before becoming a Baptist in 2001. He eventually became a deacon, taught Sunday school, and ran several ministries in his church.[343]

None of these New Afrikans attributed any of their spiritual practices or beliefs to the Republic of New Afrika. They did not indicate where or how they came to accept their beliefs at the time of their interviews. Elder Balogun claimed that through his contacts within the RNA, he gained exposure to new ways of approaching spirituality and religion. Yet, it was the contacts he had with other Black Nationalists in Detroit that had the greatest impact on him.

> Well you know at this time man i was really kinda experimenting. Like i said, Baba Oserjiman Adefunmi was a Yoruba priest. I was looking into Orisa, Voodoo, and some remnants of Islam, Buddhism, and then like i said the Pan-African Christian Orthodox Church getting started then, so i was looking into that.

He learned through his interactions with these people and institutions that with "as many ways to the Creator as there are, you know, all roads eventually lead to him anyway." From that perspective, he came to believe that there was not any reason to choose any one religious or spiritual worldview over another,

> I don't consider myself a religious person. But i'm more spiritual now, that's becoming the acceptable thing. But i'm open-minded about all religious endeavors. I can't say that there was one that i favored above others. I still tap my foot to and shake my head and walk back and forth to a good gospel tune, you know what i'm saying. But i can also feel something when it's a call to prayer in Arabic, you know.[344]

Elder Balogun seems to approach religion and spirituality in a manner similar to the Provisional Government, which as the governing body for a *nation* never dictated that its citizens adhere to any one religious worldview.

Conclusion

The New Afrikans presented here and their interactions with the PG-RNA demonstrate the various ways that social movement activism impacted activists' lives. The movement created new frames through which New Afrikans would come to understand oppression and revolution, but it was not the single-most important factor in their struggle for independence. Instead, community, family, and each individual's unique methods of surviving oppressive environments

were all important factors in determining their life courses. Each person's experience as a racialized and gendered being in the United States helped shape how they understood everything from education and spirituality, to family, and career paths. It was their understanding of those things that helped them decide to become involved in the Black Liberation movement and the Provisional Government. And it was based on that understanding that these activists then decided to re-envision their families based on African-derived culture, or that they embraced African religious traditions, or no religion at all. They took these ideas and attitudes into the movement where they inevitably had a profound influence on the Provisional Government and on the NAIM.

John Bracey recalled a moment at the Black Government Convention where Queen Mother Moore, Gaidi Obadele, and Oserjiman Adefunmi debated which religion would provide the most opportunity for New Afrikans.[345] Similarly, New Afrikans had conversations and debates about how culture, education, and many other aspects of human life could be potentially liberatory or oppressive. The dialectical interactions between New Afrikans, their pre-activist orientations and worldviews, and the daily challenge of being New Afrikan in the United States made for a dynamic process through which people developed a new understanding that they then applied to their activism. It was a total, cyclical process, not a one-way cause (activism) and effect (biographical impact) that led to a major divergence between the life course of activists from non-activists.

Even with the various effects that have been discussed in this chapter, it appears that during the Black Power era and the Reagan years, there are some aspects of culture that have not been influenced by the Provisional Government. For example, they have not contributed many new festive celebrations to Black nationalists in the United States or other places in the African

Diaspora. With the exception of New Afrikan Nation Day, they do not have any occasions that they created specifically in the context or as a result of the NAIM. Many New Afrikans do, however, participate in other Black nationalist traditions, such as Kwanzaa and Malcolm X celebrations. New Afrikan marriage ceremonies, which began soon after the creation of the Provisional Government, have gained some prominence amongst New Afrikans and African Americans who have had some exposure to the NAIM, even if they do not proclaim openly to be citizens of record.[346] Furthermore, the Provisional Government never claimed to have any control over individual New Afrikan's choices in clothing, and eating and health choices. Instead, people have pointed to the broader trends with Black nationalism as to how they were influenced to make their various choices in those areas of their lives.

The most significant reason for the RNA's lack of cultural influence amongst Black revolutionaries is probably because the Republic of New Afrika has claimed to be an entire Black nation. Being a nation, the RNA has sought to include a variety of different religious perspectives, cultural practices, festive celebrations, and dietary preferences. Imari Obadele defined "nation" as having "three classic ingredients," common land, common culture, and common government. Sometimes that nation also shares a racial heritage.[347] Chokwe Lumumba added that a nation should also have a common economy. Or, the nation might be constituted by "a people who have been collectively subjugated to an imperialist economic system, which has precluded them from developing and organizing an economic life of their own."[348] As a nation, the Republic of New Afrika should reflect the heterogeneity of its citizens. That is where the power of lifestyle politics resides. Because no one group of people is homogeneous, how they decided to live out the ideologies guiding their practice became an important site of agency that allowed activists to begin exercising self-determination in hegemonic situations.

At least one other aspect of lifestyle politics deserves discussion; that is the various ways that political repression changed activists' life-course. As seen in this chapter, New Afrikans' positive and negative experiences with the world around them facilitated their decisions to become revolutionaries, and their experiences within the movement helped determine their life-course regardless of whether they stayed in the movement. In other words, they developed certain beliefs and tendencies in their activism, which they in-turn, applied to other aspects of their lives.

A major influence on peoples' life-course and orientation of revolutionary activism was their relationship with the state agencies charged with the task of squashing their movement. To be sure, local and national policing agencies and the strategies and tactics for undermining New Afrikan independence efforts had an impact on the movement and activists that must be considered in this discussion. The next chapter deals with the history and legacy of that aspect of lifestyle politics.

Chapter 6 – "Cointel's Got Blacks in Hell"[349]: State Repression & Black Liberation

While Michael Jackson was having his first hits, police and revolutionaries were fighting in the streets and alleys of Amerikkka (to use the terminology of the era).

– Scott Ettman[350]

I didn't know about COINTELPRO then, but I knew something was amiss.
The United States of America would have you believe that i am a criminal, that We are all criminals. That just isn't so.

– Geronimo ji Jaga[351]

I am a New Afrikan soldier, and We have an absolute right to fight for our freedom… what is necessary to exercise that right is to stand up like men and women and exercise it.

– Sekou Odinga[352]

The message is this: You cannot oppose the policies of the U.S. government, you cannot resist these governmental declarations of war, and if you do we will send an army to terrorize you, your family, and any of you supporters.

– C. Vernon Mason[353]

Fulani Sunni-Ali lived on a farmhouse in a place called Byrdtown (located in Gallman, Mississippi) with her elderly New Afrikan father (Baba Alajo Adegbalola) and another New Afrikan woman. Together, they ran one of the Provisional Government's education programs for children on their property. On October 27, 1981 at approximately 6:00 a.m., about 200 federal agents from several states and armed with tanks, machine guns, and helicopters raided the property and arrested everyone, children included, at gunpoint. The PG claimed that everyone except for two infants was placed in handcuffs. Their actions were based on the suspicion that Sunni-Ali had conspired with BLA members in a recent Black Liberation Army "expropriation" of an armored Brinks truck. To justify the raid to the public, the FBI claimed to have found a cache of weapons on the rural Mississippi property. That "cache" included "three .22 (squirrel)

rifles used to hunt small game, and two larger caliber rifles. Each gun was legally registered and none [had] been involved in any crimes."[354] The FBI labeled Sunni-Ali, as they had come to do with all of the expropriation suspects (and political dissidents more generally), a "terrorist." Although they soon had to drop their original conspiracy charges against Sunni-Ali, the state decided to use another legal tactic to harass and intimidate her; that December, they subpoenaed her to participate in the grand jury investigation of the expropriation. Viewing the grand jury as an attempt to intimidate her and other movement activists, and as a method to place her at odds with her comrades, Sunni-Ali refused to cooperate. Her refusal gave the federal government another opportunity to jail and try her.[355]

Up to this point, my discussion of New Afrikans has focused on the methods by which *they* construct their collective identity and lifestyles based on New Afrikan Political Science. However, collective identity construction and lifestyle politics were at least partially determined by forces outside of the movement. Sociologists indicate that collective identity is influenced by "alter versions," which essentially are how forces outside of the movement construct movement participants' identities.[356] If – as was the case with New Afrikans – police officers, FBI agents, and the press considered New Afrikans as criminals, "Black militants" bent on destroying America, and as cop killers, then that would partially contribute to how the New Afrikan collective identity was constructed.[357] Such perspectives of New Afrikan collective identity justified repressive actions, which placed limitations on many New Afrikans.

This chapter discusses the historical relationship between New Afrikans and the state focusing specifically on the construction of alter versions and how they affected activists.[358] Characterizing U.S.-New Afrikan interactions as warfare, it begins with an overview of the various ways that the state repressed political dissidents. An explanation of these actions allows

for deeper a review of the ways alter versions are created and then acted upon. More importantly, once we know what New Afrikans were facing on a daily basis, a fruitful discussion of the human response can occur. To be sure, the New Afrikan response to repression was pre-figured into their strategy and aimed at destroying the United States' capability of colonizing the RNA and other nations throughout the world. This chapter will explore that response at the level of spectacular violence as well as daily attempts to subvert the state's efforts to destroy the independence movement.

Both perceived and actual repression had a psychological impact on people who were attempting to bring their goals of self-determination and new societies to fruition. In fact, that aspect of repression is important for this study because it provides a glimpse into one of the many ways that social movement participation impacted activists in a negative way. For example, one aim of government repression was to create fear and discord amongst targets. After the raid on the RNA home in Byrd Town, at least one family had to reconsider its participation in the NAIM. No doubt there was speculation about who within the movement was not trustworthy; many people had exhibited a loss of trust in their comrades for suspicion of, or proven, collusion with U.S. government.[359]

The methodology used here includes analysis of covert and overt governmental repression using personal narratives, newspaper articles, and police and FBI documents.[360] Each incident of repressive action recounted in the following pages was written with the guidance of Alan Wolfe's classification repressive action.[361] The sources used here make it clear that Black activists, including New Afrikans, were subject to a laundry list of repressive actions, including continual surveillance and harassment by police, intentional media misinformation, bogus mail, and even assassination. The PG-RNA, by the 1980s, was able to determine through the Freedom

of Information Act, the full extent that they were the targeted and attacked by "one of the most bizarre and sinister – and illegal – plots of the COINTELPRO era."[362] By that point, their efforts had already been seriously stalled and their movement became associated with an era that had ended.[363]

Repressive Action Against "Black Hate Groups"

The Federal Bureau of Investigation created a framework for monitoring, suppressing, repressing, and shaping outsider perceptions of New Afrikans long before the Obadeles' and their allies made the call for the Black Government Conference. Since its inception, the FBI (called the Bureau of Investigation until 1935) held dissidents of African descent with particular disdain. Alleging that dissatisfied Black women and men were the political "dupes" of Soviet states, they took various actions against any Black activists whose agendas challenged the racial and economic status quo. The Bureau's actions against Marcus Garvey and the UNIA, A. Philip Randolph, the *Chicago Defender* and many other individuals, organizations, and Black media sources reveal that the Bureau did not have a place on its agenda for the protection of Black political activists. Its general "inability" to protect African Americans from terrorism, and the Bureau's own repressive actions against those seeking equal rights within the U.S. political structure demonstrated that the Bureau's agenda sought to keep African people in a position of subjugation. According to historian Theodore Kornwiebel, the fear of Communist-inspired Black activism remained a standard feature of Edgar J. Hoover's and, therefore, the FBI's agenda between World War I and director's death in 1972. The foundation for its program of repression during the Black Power era against New Afrikans and other Black radicals was long established and in harmony with the American Government's usual business formula.[364]

The FBI's COINTELPRO consisted of a broad-based network that included agents, informants, police, media personnel, utilities operators, pub owners, and market vendors.[365] Civil rights and Black Power activists ranging from Fannie Lou Hamer to Dara Abubakari were targets of FBI surveillance and neutralization, especially after it formally initiated counterintelligence operations against known and suspected Black Nationalist "HATE GROUPS" in August 1967. In his attempt to quash subversive ideas and formations, including African American voter registration, Hoover ordered his field offices to develop imaginative means to prevent the rise of a Black "messiah" and to maintain the racial status quo.[366] Agents' methods were effective in that their actions resulted in grave bodily harm, psychological trauma, imprisonment, and/or death for countless African American bodies whose major "crimes" were their insistence on exercising their civil and human rights and self-determination by "any means necessary."[367]

Field offices in various locales worked together to spy, at one level, on high-profile targets such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. The FBI and Central Intelligence Agency spied on Carmichael in the United States and monitored his activities abroad. In 1970 he was summoned before the Senate Subcommittee to testify about his activities.[368] Brown was arrested several times for his political activities. Accused of inciting riots in places like Cambridge, Maryland, he was branded a violent "rabble rouser," and even today continues to suffer persecution from the United States government.[369] They, and other famous targets, are representative of a much larger program of monitoring and policing of Black bodies by Uncle Sam.

Such monitoring was not reserved only for known "radicals"; Black people in general were targets of J. Edgar Hoover's domestic spying campaign during the 1960s. The FBI spied

on entire Black communities from Watts to Brooklyn, allegedly to identify the people who agitated for and participated in urban rebellions and other forms of dissidence making potential/imagined targets, their neighbors, and families the subject of memos that landed on Hoover's Washington, D.C. desk. Such reports also extended to Black-owned bookstores, neighborhood social spaces, and cooperative businesses. All of Black America seemed to be a COINTELPRO target.[370]

Sociologists – following Alan Wolfe – fit state repression into three broad categories: (1) intelligence/covert actions; (2) legal repression; and (3) violence. Some scholars also break repression down into "soft" and "hard" repression. The former is typically covert and includes monitored regularly and infiltrated by informants and agents, bad-jacketing, defamation in the local and national press, and being made the avatars and recipients of bogus mail. Hard, or overt repression includes harassment, arrest, raids, and violence against intended targets.[371] The RNA was subject to these various actions by the state, which helped stunt the growth and development of the NAIM as a whole, and also had an impact on individual New Afrikans' collective identities.

Soft repression, in the form of monitoring and infiltrating the RNA and their activities, was one of the most widespread forms of repression exacted against New Afrikans. FBI documents on the Henry brothers, GOAL, and their affiliates provides ample evidence that even before they championed armed revolution, people who would become New Afrikan citizens were targets of state repression.[372] One example of FBI-police monitoring was Betty Shabazz, whose life was of interest to the state from at least since 1958. They kept tabs on where she lived, where she traveled on a daily basis, when she married Malcolm X, when she became pregnant with her children, and with whom she communicated (including the mayor of New

York City).[373] As the wife of Malcolm X, one might expect (even with disgust) such a high level of surveillance, even down to such personal issues as her pregnancy.

Like Sister Betty, GOAL and the Henry Brothers in Detroit were targets of FBI monitoring and infiltration. Federal agents took interest in these activists' public proclamations, the relationship between GOAL activists with RAM in Detroit and in Cleveland, Ohio, as well as the formation of their aboveground self-defense formations. The FBI was especially on edge about the latter. In an "URGENT" memo Hoover ordered field agents to get information, not only to verify the formation of the Medgar Evers Rifle Club, but also to conduct background checks on the informants and police officers monitoring GOAL.[374] Although this example, as well as that of Betty Shabazz, did not include any recommendations for violence against these targets, they are indicative of how agents of the state constructed alter versions of activists and their families (even the unborn ones). By doing so, they prepared for more obviously malicious forms of repression, including letter writing, rumor, legal repression, and even physical violence.

Chapter two discussed FBI-Police infiltration of New Afrikans in Detroit. However, New Afrikans in Detroit and elsewhere were mobile. So too were agents of the state whom Dr. Zoharah Simmons, a one-time supporter of the Provisional Government and citizen of record, recounted having them follow her as she drove from Cleveland to Detroit for an RNA event. In her situation, she and three other New Afrikan citizens could not verify whether their pursuers

> were FBI, but they were White men in suits who, every time we stopped to get gas, they stopped. They wanted us to know that we were under surveillance. I was terrified of what was going to happen. But they just followed us and watched us.

Regardless of who the unidentified men were, Dr. Simmons perceived them as agents of the state assigned to monitor her and the other activists. Being surveilled so blatantly caused her distress,

not least because her comrades were armed and prepared for the possibility of confrontation with their observers.[375]

Marilyn Killingham was surer of who was monitoring her, as well as their intentions. She argued, the FBI

> *wanted* you to know that they were following you. When they changed shifts with the cars that were following you, they made sure that you saw them. I mean, they *wanted* to run you crazy. They wanted to harass you; they wanted to hurt you or make you hurt yourself.[376]

If, as Mama Marilyn and Dr. Simmons claimed, the state wanted activists to know that they were being followed and monitored, it begs the question: why? What did these agents hope to gain from such visibility? One of the FBI's stated goals was to deter its targets from gaining the support of potential allies. Perhaps they had learned from Robert Williams that if people saw the threat of being openly monitored, then perhaps they would decide to stay away from those groups and individuals. And they realized the great distress that they could bring about in their subjects. Having knowledge that one was being watched, listened to, followed, and potentially targeted for violence increased the likelihood that s/he would respond to that situation with actions that could justify greater repression. In his article on the repression of the Bay area BPP, sociologist Charles E. Jones indicated that harassment was sometimes a noticeable accoutrement to the surveillance that was often done under radar.[377]

The arrests of Ahmed Obafemi and Malik Sonebeyatta demonstrates how soft and hard repressive actions were often used simultaneously. In July 1972, Obafemi and Sonebeyatta attended the Miami Democratic National Convention as "official envoys of the RNA with orders to distribute literature to [Senator George] McGovern's headquarters." At one point, Obafemi attempted to approach the South Dakota senator, but was apprehended by local authorities. It was rumored that Obafemi and Sonebeyatta had planned to harm McGovern and others after

Secret Service agents found two handguns in their borrowed automobile. Fear of assassination attempts soon passed, but Obafemi and Sonebeyatta did not win their release. Instead, they were each tried and convicted on three firearms charges and sentenced to five years in prison.[378]

Newspaper reports claimed matter-of-factly that the FBI, who had been surveilling Obafemi and Sonebeyatta, tipped the Secret Service that the two New Afrikans were worthy of special attention via searching their vehicle. There was no question as to why the two men were under FBI surveillance or for what reason the agents decided to make the Secret Service aware of their presence. It seems that by the early 1970s, news media had accepted the idea that Black nationalists were synonymous with criminals and, therefore, did not require any investigation into their intentions.

This being the case, it is rather curious that the men were caught with concealed handguns at an event where there would surely be heightened security. Also, being New Afrikans at a political convention less than one year after the Lewis Street shootout that resulted in their president's incarceration should have encouraged extra precautions, such as inspecting a borrowed vehicle for any items that could possibly give state authorities cause to apprehend and detain. In fact, Obafemi and Sonebeyatta's envoy assignment came just months after activists gained solid evidence that the FBI had played a major role in undermining their activities. Finding or, even possibly planting two handguns in the New Afrikans' borrowed car, allowed the state to achieve two goals simultaneously. First, in detaining their perpetrators, the FBI and media were able to build on their story of New Afrikans being criminals, possibly deterring potential allies from joining the RNA. Second, by placing them on trial and in prison, the state effectively drained more economic and human resources from the NAIM. For this reason, especially, legal repression was a fruitful method of disrupting Black revolutionaries because the

legal process was often lengthy, expensive, and – in itself – generated plenty of damning press releases against trial defendants, even if the charges were later dropped or convictions overturned.

The mixture of covert repression, legal actions, and negative media attention all provided the state with the elements they needed to create an alter version of New Afrikan collective identity. They mobilized their alter versions in order to create a negative public perception of New Afrikans and the goal of liberation. Projecting them as "radicals" and even "terrorists," the U.S. government sought to deter people, who may have agreed with the RNA's goals, from getting involved. They simultaneously provided themselves with enough reason to utilize violent actions against New Afrikans and their allies.

FBI Repressive Action and New Afrikan Collective Identity in War

The Context of War

Violence was one of the most visible and spectacular forms of political repression. New Afrikans understood themselves to be at war with the United States government, and "warfare" is an appropriate framework for examining repressive action. War is a dialectical struggle between two or more groups that can be, and typically is, associated with a declared state of armed conflict. Thus, it often is framed in ways that bring the carnage of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam or their combat in Afghanistan to one's mind. However, war is more expansive than napalm and unmanned fighter drones. In many cases, such as the protracted conflicts between oppressed groups and their oppressors, war goes undeclared. As nothing more or less than active struggle or antagonism between two or more entities or competing forces, it may be waged in subtle ways.[379] War can be blatantly physical like the above examples, or it may seem more as an ideological "cold war." Regardless, harm reaches out beyond those who are consciously

participating to determine the fate of innocent children, non-invested captives, and those who may seek refuge from it. Its physical impact is always felt, even if not completely understood, as it undermines people's humanity and limits their chances at achieving the best possible life for themselves and their loved ones. Finally, war has a noticeable impact on the way future generations remember it. Even if the "winners" of the war choose to not tell the story, they regulate how the "losers" remember and disseminate that story. All of these characteristics of war are present in the history of the NAIM.

New Afrikans framed the "War in America" and their movement in these terms: The *maafa* (African Holocaust), which included the various aspects of African people's capture, shipping, "seasoning" in the Americas, as well as their various acts resistance against their Euro-American oppressors formed the big picture. Therefore, enslaved people's homicide of overseers and masters, rebellions, escape attempts, and fighting for the Union army may all be factored into this framework, along with attempts to emigrate, form homestead and Black towns, and protecting Black communities against lynching. One may also include in this the formation of organizations, clubs, and protest movements, as well as the urban rebellions in Watts, Detroit, and Louisville, Kentucky. The shootouts at New Bethel and Lewis Street were two of the most famous New Afrikan battles in this war, and they were snapshots of the routine repression executed by the oppressive forces waging war against the NAIM. Framing the movement in these terms allowed New Afrikans to include in their discussion New Afrikan political prisoners and "Prisoners of war" (PPs and POWS). For the purpose of this chapter, examining the "war" between the state and the RNA helps determine how some New Afrikans lived their ideology as well as the consequences of it.

Episodes of Violence

The FBI and/or local police participated in several overtly violent interactions with New Afrikans between the 1969 New Bethel Incident and the 1981 raid on the RNA home in Byrdtown. Some of them were planned, such as the raids in 1971 on the Lewis and Lynch Street houses. Others, like the New Bethel Incident, seemed to be more spontaneous. What follows is an analysis of several violent interactions between the state and the RNA. The situations demonstrate how covert and legal repression were intertwined with violent repressive actions. Also, they allow for an investigation into how alter versions figure into New Afrikan collective identity to become one aspect of lifestyle politics.

The New Bethel Incident is by far the most popular event in New Afrikan history. The shootout has received in depth coverage by newspapers, police, RNA sympathizers, and scholars. Besides describing the events of that fateful evening, it is important to examine the specific circumstances surrounding the incident, especially New Afrikans' misgivings about Detroit Police. Many Black Detroiters were distrustful of the police because of the violence local law enforcement inflicted in their neighborhoods. Violence, poor housing conditions, and the lack of substantive response to Black Detroiters' needs fueled that tension, especially in the aftermath of the 1967 rebellion. Further, job and housing discrimination and illegal drugs wreaked havoc on many individuals and helped facilitate the "blighting" of many urban Black communities. And Detroit is just one of the many cities that exemplify this problem. Various people from New York, for example, have given similar descriptions of the conditions that typified locales where Black women and men became involved with RNA consulates.[380] Put simply, many New Afrikans who lived in such conditions and witnessed and/or experienced police violence expected the police to attack them at any time. And some were prepared to defend themselves in such an event.

It is also useful to describe and explain the interactions between New Afrikans and law enforcement following the Incident. With regard to the Detroit police, they were on guard against and hostile toward New Afrikans and anyone who may have been involved with Detroit leftist politics. For instance, Police officers claimed the doctors that treated a wounded police officer received threats of bodily harm. They also claimed the RNA staged "an uprising within the boundaries of the Tenth Precinct."[381] Whether that uprising was understood as a "riot" or a protest is not specified. However, an informant for the police claimed that New Afrikans planned to incite Detroit police to use their weapons to harm and kill participants at a support rally for Judge Crockett.[382] Like many of the other reports, no details accompany the allegation. If New Afrikans discussed having a demonstration in the aftermath of the New Bethel Incident, it is likely that they recognized the potential of police violence against demonstrators as well as the potential effect police brutality could have on people who constantly witnessed and experienced misconduct at the hands of lawmen. If, as the informant reported, some New Afrikans were indeed willing to provoke deadly violence against innocent people, it would have been an attempt to demonstrate the consistency of police brutality against African people colonized in urban spaces such as Detroit. And what would be the solution for that problem? New Afrikans believed the solution as the creation of an all-Black nation in the Deep South.

It is not likely that even if someone suggested inciting police violence, that many New Afrikans would have supported the idea. In fact, in the aftermath of the New Bethel Incident, many Legionnaires, especially top-ranking members were reportedly planning to go underground and even wear a different type of uniform than those who remained above ground.[383] One police memo stated that Brother Gaidi openly considered moving the RNA headquarters to Cleveland where the situation was not as "hot" as Detroit.[384] Participating in violence with the police also

would have had a negative impact on the trials of Detroiters Chaka Fuller and Alfred Hibbit, and Rafael Rivera a teacher from New York, all of whom eventually went to trial for their suspected involvement in the New Bethel Incident.[385] Hibbit's charges included unlawful possession of weapons, but Fuller and Viera were charged with criminal assault and murder.

Rivera and Fuller won their trials by September 1970, after which Rivera headed back home to New York City and Fuller remained in Detroit. Both New Afrikans had received death threats, and someone quickly made the threat to Fuller a reality when an unidentified assailant stabbed him to death just outside of his home less than one month after his acquittal. New Afrikans and other community's members claimed that the police committed the murder to avenge Czapski's death.[386] The murder has yet to be solved, but Fuller's death confirmed many New Afrikans' fears that the police were willing to murder them in revenge, if not pure spite. According to one former Legionnaire,

> that's one of the reason why when i got out [of prison] i didn't come back here [to Detroit]. 'Cause during the time that i was in [prison], one of the pigs that i had wounded [in a gun battle], they were talking about making him police chief. So i said, well i know i can't go back. Yeah, so that's why i paroled in New York when i got out.[387]

As Elder Balogun's statement indicates, antagonism between "the law" and New Afrikans posed a serious threat for RNA cadre. Not only did they have to fear police harassment, imprisonment, and even death; they also had to consider leaving their communities and families in search of safety because they were made targets, sometimes even after they discontinued participating in the political actions that originally placed them on the state's radar. In other words, the consequences of movement participation often extended beyond a person's actual involvement with the NAIM. It impacted their entire lives.

FBI-backed headlines and hysteria about the New Bethel Incident spread across the nation, and stimulated a surge in covert repressive actions against New Afrikans, at least

temporarily. They were monitored as they traveled to and from meetings. Police departments and federal agents began taking license plate numbers and recording their home addresses, as well as the addresses of family and friends.[388] By the time the RNA made it to Jackson, Mississippi where they established their headquarters, the U.S. government had gathered much intelligence on New Afrikan activities across the nation. The FBI continued its general surveillance, and beginning in August 1970, the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission also placed a watchful eye on New Afrikans in Jackson. At least one FBI agent watched New Afrikans regularly.[389] And with the consent of Mississippi state leadership, the FBI participated in several overt actions, including sanctioning Ku Klux Klan harassment of New Afrikans, attempting to prevent the March 29 Land Dedication ceremony from taking place, pressuring a Black land owner, Mason Lofton, into nullifying his agreement to sell land to the Provisional Government, and attempting to provoke violence.[390] They also succeeded in provoking an altercation between Brother Imari and a hostile White reporter, Davis Smith. Smith ended up accusing Obadele and Larry Jackson with misdemeanor assault at the FBI's behest after Obadele's security physically removed Jackson out from Obadele's office.[391]

Taken together, each of these overt acts of aggression placed New Afrikans at psychological unease. Like New Afrikans in Detroit prior to the 1969 shootout, the tension caused many to become paranoid, some beyond reason. Consider the episode related by Sekou Owusu, who went with a group from New York to the Land Dedication ceremony at "El Malik."

> We had meetings and the police were patrolling and following everybody… And one guy from New York, he got recruited to come down and he was riding with this other brother… and the cops were messing with them and they were messing with the cops, playing a cat and mouse game, whatever was going on. This brother that came down from New York, he couldn't handle it. He flipped out. And so, they took him to the hospital. I heard he was in the hospital, so i went to see him or visit him… [and] there he was laying in the hallway. He hadn't had a room yet, and he was pointing at the light bulb, [saying] 'God is White, God is White, God is White.'[392]

If what happened to this man was a serious case, one should expect that several other New Afrikans experienced some degree of psychological trauma related to their experiences with being continually followed and harassed in violent rituals such as the one described. An atmosphere of group preparedness for an attack, along with the individual mental trauma of being harassed by various law enforcement and vigilante groups, created a mixture of combustible elements that was designed to explode with the correct trigger.

For his part, Brother Imari claimed that he "was concerned that somehow We must calm the atmosphere, de-fuse what was an exceedingly volatile situation." According to him

> it was neither our strategy nor our tactics to start a shooting war over El Malik, to try in any shooting war to wrest our independence. We had to get on now with mobilizing and then organizing black people throughout the state. This meant *Reparations Election*: the New African cadre proselytizing, teaching, organizing for many months. Peace, not shooting war, was needed for this.[393]

In fact, Brother Imari had been sensitive about the press response to the RNA for some time. A "reliable" informant for the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission had reported as early as July 31 of the previous year that Obadele was upset about the *Jackson Daily News*' characterization of the RNA as having a "propensity toward violence."[394] He seemed shocked that they would characterize him and his cadre in such a manner. For the historian, however, it comes as no surprise that the media would be hostile. Besides the New Bethel Incident, there were several underground actions in which New Afrikans participated (and sometimes initiated) in Detroit, Michigan, Cleveland, Ohio, and Cairo, Illinois. Although they did not create the same buzz as New Bethel, state and federal policing agencies were aware of them, and they likely notified political leaders in Mississippi. Nor does the 1971 raid that precipitated a shootout between New Afrikans and their antagonists veer from the state's track record of violent dealings with its dissidents and "trouble makers."[395]

The gunfire, which would affect the course of RNA organizing for over a decade, burst from the RNA house at 1138 Lewis Street at approximately 6:30 a.m. On that warm, sunny morning, four of the seven New Afrikans present responded to tear gas canisters crashing through the walls of their residence with rifle fire.[396] As they engaged in a decisive battle with the police and FBI in what they considered a desperate attempt to preserve their lives, three others searched in vain for a safe route of escape. After about twenty minutes of shooting and the fatality of one police officer, the seven surrendered. Half-naked and handcuffed, the men and women were marched down Lewis Street by their police escorts. Nearby, at 1320 Lynch Street, Brother Imari and three others surrendered to police and federal agents who had surrounded their office. Not one bullet exited an agent or police officer's gun. However, the circumstances of that interaction should not be considered any more peaceful than the episode that took place several blocks away. Several of them reported to have been beaten once in police custody.[397] Their surrender solidified the state of Mississippi's victory in an important battle in their war to prevent the "captive Black nation" from gaining independence. Besides the capture of the president, that victory diverted many resources away from RNA organizing to legal defense efforts for the "RNA-11," again demonstrating what extreme organizational and personal costs some social movement activists paid as they worked toward their goals.

The New Bethel Incident and the Jackson shootout were two of many violent interactions between the state and Black revolutionaries during the Black Power era. The consequences of these battles included the loss of life of New Afrikans, police officers, and FBI agents, New Afrikans' imprisonment, destruction of New Afrikan and community property, and the stagnation of RNA growth and development, not to mention the general perception of New Afrikans as violent criminals. In some ways the U.S. government achieved some of its

objectives through its strategy of surveillance and repression. However, these actions did not crush the RNA or the NAIM. Some of their citizens continued working for independence from behind the walls of prisons across the United States. Those who remained on the outside utilized the images of their imprisoned comrades to organize and mobilize for New Afrikan liberation.

Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War

Black liberation activists considered people such as the RNA-11, Dr. Mutulu Shakur, Sundiata Acoli, and Safiya Bukhari to be political prisoners (PP) and/or prisoners of war (POW). They received this status because they were

> conscious fighters of a people struggling against colonialism and for national self-determination and independent state power. New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoner of War have sworn a general allegiance to the nation and its objectives, and sworn a particular allegiance to one of the formations of New Afrikan Independence Movement.[398]

All POWs were also considered PPs, but not all PPs are prisoners of war. The distinction can be found in the how each individual was apprehended as well as their activities before and/or during their captures. POWs "are classified as the armed forces of the nation." Further,

> New Afrikan Prisoners of War are armed anti-colonial combatants; they are members of structured military arms of political organizations; they are commanded by persons responsible for their subordinates; they adhere to international humanitarian law, i.e., they meet all criteria of said law, and they should be accorded Prisoner of War status and treatment by the U.S.[399]

For example, New Afrikans considered Dr. Shakur and Geronimo ji Jaga POWs because of their involvement with the underground military operations of the BLA and (for ji Jaga) the BPP. Safiya Bukhari's participation with the BLA, as well as her arrest and conviction following the convenience store shootout that led to her capture, qualified her as a POW. In other words, POWs had to be involved directly with some sort of military formation or had to be apprehended during a military action, whether planned or circumstantial, in order to be granted that status. On

the other hand, PPs were individuals whose imprisonment was a result of state targeting, and was not necessarily accompanied by a military action.[400]

PPs and POWs were important topics of discussion when participants in the 1968 Black Government Conference founded the PG-RNA. The conference occurred well after several paramilitary formations had organized for the purposes of defending Black communities and to eventually fight in armed warfare that some were certain would soon be upon them. With the goal of political independence such formations could cohere into a national army and seek legitimacy under international law. That international recognition would give any defensive or offensive military actions the political standing they needed to protect individuals from criminal prosecution. Of course, this was (and remains) theoretical. To date, no New Afrikan PP or POW has received such status or protection from U.S. criminal prosecution.

Of the New Afrikan PPs and POWs, two of the most popular are Sundiata Acoli and Assata Shakur. They became POWs in 1973 when New Jersey police officers captured them following a traffic stop that resulted in the deaths of their comrade Zayd Shakur and police officer Werner Foerster. During the melee that occurred, Assata Shakur was seriously injured and Acoli was forced to flee. He was soon captured and imprisoned. Since her capture, Assata has become an international symbol of anti-imperialist struggle against the United States. Her dedication to improving the conditions of African Americans while she was a Black Panther, and her perceived status as the "Soul of the Black Liberation Army" contributed to her fame; but because of her legendary escape from Clinton Correctional Facility and the bounty offered for her return – dead or alive – to New Jersey, Shakur's power as a former POW and symbol as someone who beat the system has grown exponentially.[401]

Shakur's status as a symbol has placed her in the likeness of George Jackson and others who have given momentum to the prison movement. Acoli and Chicago New Afrikan, Atiba Shanna, have become some of the most articulate theorists of prison struggle and architects of radical political organization bridging those "outside" and those within "the belly of the beast." The prison experience also became the impetus for Bukhari and other New Afrikans and their allies to create Black Prisoner of War Solidarity Day and the Jericho Movement. Jericho '98, as it was first called, is an organization that seeks to raise awareness about PPs and POWs, with hopes of putting pressure on federal and local governments to reopen their cases. Jericho participants hope to use evidence of government misconduct from the COINTELPRO era and later to vindicate Acoli and others whom activists feel were unjustly imprisoned or improperly sentenced. Many of them seek to eventually abolish prisons altogether.[402]

One may construe fighting for New Afrikan prisoners and/or for the abolition of the current prison system as a positive outcome or consequence of Black Power era liberation organizing. Because so many women and men remain behind bars for their beliefs, younger generations may be gaining a more sophisticated understanding political repression. Unfortunately, that positive outcome is accompanied by the loss of many lives and talented individuals (much like the slave trade that robbed people from across the African continent, which many prison abolitionists compare prisons with) who could have a more active role in the betterment of society if they were not locked away in the state-run and (ever-increasing) private prisons. Therefore, that loss of doctors, lawyers, chemists, teachers, and engineers who could help solve many of society's problems is a consequence of government repression that deprives humanity, one individual at a time.

Humanity Intact: New Afrikan Responses to State Repression

Because New Afrikans expected FBI repression, they planned for it. Therefore, they were neither victims of FBI repression, nor were they violent criminals who sought out and killed agents of the state. New Afrikans considered themselves to be revolutionaries who, in a struggle for self-determination, made calculated decisions that they believed would help them achieve their goals. Brother Imari hoped that by the time violent struggle became a reality, the RNA would have enough international backing and "Second Strike"/underground support to make any violent offensive by the United States costly in terms of human life, property, and international standing. They did not develop either to a degree that would allow them to be militarily successful. Because the history of the RNA did not unfold according to those expectations, New Afrikans had to find other ways to deal with violent repression. How they did so, helped them maintain their humanity. The tactics discussed here demonstrate some ways that New Afrikans responded to their enemy within the overall context of war. Some of them may seem ill timed and foolish, but their impact on the human beings involved, as well as the movement, was lasting.

Not long after the Lewis Street shootout, three New Afrikans began a journey that they hoped would end in the release of their incarcerated president. Instead, it culminated with their arrival in Cuba as part of a phenomenon that began the previous decade. On November 8, 1971, Fela Alatonsi (f.s.n. Charles Hill) and Michael "Mahcha" Finney were journeying from Berkeley, California where they were students, teachers, Vietnam veterans, parents, and revolutionaries. Somewhere near Albuquerque, they met with Ralph "Antoine" Goodwin. The three were working for the Provisional Government and at least one (Finney) had also been a member of the Black Panther Party. As they headed for Jackson, Mississippi with their cache of weapons, New Mexico State Trooper, Robert Rosenbloom, pulled them over "for a routine

check" under the pretense of "a traffic violation." At some point after stopping the vehicle, a shootout ensued and Rosenbloom was shot and killed. The three young men then spent the next week figuring out how to avoid being captured by authorities in what one journalist called, "the largest manhunt in New Mexico history." On November 27, after waiting in sand dunes for an opportunity to flee, the three New Afrikans forced a tow truck driver to take them to Albuquerque airport where they commandeered a Chicago-bound flight. Alatonsi, Finney, and Goodwin detoured the plane to either Atlanta or Tampa to let passengers deplane before continuing to Cuba with the six-member flight crew.[403] Once in Cuba, "the men settled into quiet lives as guests of the revolution."[404]

During the 1960s and early 1970s re-routing flights from various locales to Cuba became one popular method that revolutionaries and other self-made enemies of the United States used to avoid arrest, imprisonment, and death. In many of those cases, the Cuban government accepted the skyjackers while returning planes, pilots, and passengers to their destinations. Those who the Cubans would not accept found themselves jailed then returned to U.S. custody.[405] Skyjacking became so popular during the late 1960s that both the Castro and Nixon governments sought ways to deter exiles from seeking refuge in their respective countries. And after what appeared to be a "downward trend" in hijackings, Cuba reached out to the U.S. to negotiate a resolution to deal harshly with people who diverted planes and boats to either country with hopes of finding asylum.[406] Besides the three New Afrikans mentioned above, several Black Panthers also utilized the skyjacking-to-Cuba method when they were in a bind.[407]

It is unknown whether the three young men realized during their escape to Cuba that they would spend the remainder of their lives in the island country. However, for two of them that has been part of the consequences of their willingness to give their lives, if necessary, in pursuit

of their ideals and principles. Not long after arriving in Cuba, Goodwin died during his attempt to save two drowning beach-goers. Finney also died in Cuba, though two decades after arriving there. His cause of death was throat cancer. Alatonsi remains in Cuba, seemingly bitter in his freedom in exile. Like famed Black Panther, Pete O'Neal who has lived in Tanzania for several decades, Alatonsi has expressed deep appreciation of the Cuban government's willingness to protect him. However, he has claimed on more than one occasion that he would rather be in the U.S. with his family and friends.[408]

Not everyone decided, or was able, to escape U.S. authorities' legal reach. Therefore, New Afrikans, Black Panthers, and BLA cadre all had to fight the state on their territory. One method of combat was to utilize U.S. courts. New Afrikan lawyers such as Chokwe Lumumba defended their comrades in the courtroom while demonstrating the political nature of the defendants' cases to juries. However, that method often led to imprisonment. According to Assata, "we couldn't look to the kourts for freedom and justice any more that we could expect to gain our liberation by participating in the u.s. political system, and it was pure fantasy to think we could gain them by begging."[409] Therefore, they had to consider their alternatives.

Because so many Black revolutionaries became inmates in state and federal prisons when tried for their real or perceived activities, when faced with the option to either pursue legal respite or flee, many chose the latter option. For them going underground was a better temporary and sometimes long-term solution to whatever legal options they had available. Put another way, New Afrikans for an undetermined length of time sometimes found it important to drop off of the state's, and oftentimes even their loved ones', radars. With the help of North American anti-imperialists (White revolutionaries), they created safe houses at various locales and devised ways to alter their appearances and change identities. Sometimes they did so to achieve a

specific short-term goal such as securing money resources, as evidenced by the 1981 Brinks expropriation.[410] Otherwise, they sought to create a completely new life for themselves in the U.S. and/or abroad.

Assata Shakur is one of the most famous New Afrikans/Panthers to go underground. Although she did not describe the actual process or the people who helped her take that step before and after her capture and imprisonment, her autobiography provides readers with a glimpse into one perspective of the emotional costs associated with that life for many people. She stated, "Sisters and brothers from just about every revolutionary or militant group in the country were either rotting away in prison or had been forced underground." The comparison between "rotting away in prison" and being "forced underground" prepares readers for her description of the lifestyle of an underground revolutionary. Like being imprisoned (or exiled in another country), those who lived underground could not associate freely with their families and loved ones, contradicting many people's intuitive desires for contact with some of the people they valued most. Further, "Like most of us back in those days, i was new at this, learning about clandestine struggle as i lived it." It was unstable and stressful partially because underground revolutionaries could not remain in one place consistently. Like the descriptions provided by many imprisoned revolutionaries who were constantly moved from prison to prison, Assata stated, "Over the next few years, home became a lot of places."[411]

Eventually, the same repressive forces that led to Assata's embrace of a clandestine lifestyle also led to her imprisonment. After years of imprisonment, Assata escaped from prison with the help of her BLA comrades and some White anti-imperialists. She eventually fled the United States as well, and since the 1980s she has been living and working in Cuba.[412]

Besides skyjacking planes and freeing political prisoners, New Afrikans and many other political radicals trained for guerilla warfare, gathered intelligence on federal and local policing agencies, and created and disseminated political propaganda.[413] Some even participated in what the general public considered to be bank robberies. For New Afrikan freedom fighters like Shakur and Bukhari, going underground was a necessity if they wanted to survive. However, going underground and participating in an array of "independent actions" was simultaneously intended to chip away at their enemy's confidence and to build support for the revolution and the independence of the Black nation.

According to the Revolutionary Armed Task Force (RATF) of the BLA, "New Afrikan Freedom Fighters represent the first point of resistance for the Black nation." The freedom fighters were the "brothers" and "sisters" in struggle who had developed an analysis and critique of the oppressor's system, as well as their own resistance to it. Their critiques led them to believe in the need for an army that would secure independence for the Black nation. They had given their lives to struggle for their ideals, had become the targets of government repression, and regardless of the costs, had refused to submit to their oppressor's will.[414] Although primarily composed of New Afrikans and other Black revolutionaries, the RATF also included several White anti-imperialist allies, including Kathy Boudin, David Gilbert, and Judy Clark of the Weather Underground.

On October 20, 1981 a wing of the RATF – also known as "the Family" – participated in the armed "expropriation" of a Brinks truck as it made its scheduled cash pickup at a shopping mall. During the "expropriation," the BLA soldiers exchanged gunfire with the vehicle's guards, leaving one fatally wounded. They then proceeded as planned to a remote location where they would meet with their White comrades who were supposed to drive them to safety. However,

the group bungled their escape, and a college student witnessed the soldiers connecting with their drivers. The witness alerted local authorities and described the group and their U-Haul truck, which police soon stopped at a blockade. During the stop, the armed New Afrikans ambushed the police, killing two. Several of the expropriation participants, including Boudin, Clark, Gilbert, and Samuel "Sol" Brown, were captured at or near the scene of the shootout. Some New Afrikans were also captured or killed in the series of raids and roundups following the expropriation.[415] The raid on Sunni-Ali's residence was just one of those which took place.

By May 1988, all of the known participants had been tried and many sentenced (if still alive). Dr. Mutulu Shakur and Marilyn Buck were convicted on all of the various charges stemming from their involvement Brinks expropriation, another armored car expropriation that took place in the Bronx in 1981, and their alleged participation in liberating Assata from Clinton Correctional Facility in New Jersey. Part of their convictions included "conspiracy to commit a RICO (Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organization) enterprise" and "participating in a RICO conspiracy." These latter charges are important because they demonstrate how the racially-ethnically heterogeneous jury comprehended the Black Liberation "Family's" actions; they framed the expropriations as criminal, as opposed to political, which was how the defendants and their lawyers tried to frame the radicals' activities.[416]

In a move similar to that of several Black liberation activists before them, several of the Brinks defendants, including Judith A. Clark and David Gilbert, challenged the legality of their trials and attempted to convince the court that the United States government had no jurisdiction over them because their actions were political, which they assumed protected them from criminal trial under international law. New Afrikan Chui Ferguson rejected his U.S. citizenship and used that to base his claim that he could not be tried in U.S. criminal court. Like Brother Imari, Safiya

Bukhari, and many others, that tactic did not produce the desired results.[417] Instead, all of the convicted defendants spent some time in prison. Many of them, including Gilbert and Dr. Shakur, are still serving time.[418]

The consequences of political participation on the human beings cited above may seem dire, because they remind readers of the hell some Black revolutionaries have paid for their dedication to Black liberation. However, the above persons were well aware of the risks involved when they decided to gives their lives, if necessary, to the goals they deemed valuable. In fact, they had *planned* for such outcomes, even though they certainly did not want to be imprisoned, exiled, or killed. Careful planning and consideration of these outcomes was important for them as they strove to maintain their humanity during their struggle for liberation.

Chapter 7 – Death, Life, and Evolution: A Conclusion

Libation

I remember January 18, 2010 with sobering clarity. I was reworking my arguments about the U.S. Black population's relationship to American citizenship, distilling, to my best ability, key concepts and arguments from RNA documents in preparation for what was to become chapter three of this dissertation and a presentation for the approaching National Council for Black Studies Conference. Sometime after lunch and my second potent cup of yerba maté, I received a text message from a close friend that read, "Peace. Baba Obadele just joined the ancestors." The message did not surprise me much. In fact, my first attempts to approach RNA members and affiliates taught me that Obadele's health was deteriorating due to Alzheimer's Disease. Having recently lost my maternal grandfather to the same affliction, I knew that only a short span of time separated Dr. Obadele from eternal rest. But, I still deemed it necessary to confirm with an RNA official that Dr. Obadele had indeed "joined the ancestors." General Rashid corroborated the news for me that evening.

Although I never met Dr. Obadele in person, news of his passing made me feel as though I lost an acquaintance, if not a political mentor. For a year prior to his death, I travelled to Detroit, Michigan, Jackson, Mississippi, Brooklyn, New York, Washington, D.C., Richmond, Virginia, Miami, Florida, and elsewhere to visit research centers, libraries, and state archives, as well as people's personal offices and basements, among other locales, trying to find information on the movement that this man played such a prominent role in creating. Everyone with whom I spoke reminded me of Dr. Obadele's profound influence on his or her political beliefs and lives. Through interacting with those people, as well as reading, contemplating, and critiquing the ideas

that he lived and died by, I *felt* as though I participated in several conversations and debates with Imari Obadele (nee Richard B. Henry). Asé.

I did meet Marilyn Preston Killingham and Baba Hannibal Tirus Afrik before they departed. When I met Killingham, she was dying from cancer and happy to learn that someone had taken an interest in the movement she joined almost forty years prior. Between the discomfort caused by the tumor that ravaged her body and the effects of the drugs she took only because her physical pain outweighed her deep suspicions that attending doctors were working with the FBI to kill her, she was weakened to the point that she could barely talk. Yet, there on her deathbed, she insisted on whispering her answers to my questions about her personal life and participation with the RNA. (Interestingly, she sometimes mustered the strength to frown and loudly question whether I was a historian or a sociologist!) Afrik also was in poor physical health when I first encountered him. However, he remained adamant that I interview him and expressed contentment when our initial meeting led to an unrecorded follow-up the next day and a tour of the land he bought to develop into "liberated territory." At the time, he was utilizing the remainder of his strength to maintain his compound, which he made available as a retreat center, survival training camp, and ground zero for the proliferation of New Afrikan independence struggle in Mississippi. He took the oath of allegiance to the RNA in 1969 and died working to deliver on that promise. Asé. Asé.

Afterlife & Evolution

The deaths of Dr. Obadele and many other founding and long-time members of the RNA (including Gaidi Obadele who passed in September 2006) have not brought the independence movement to an end. In fact, it continues to maintain nation-wide membership that is optimistic regarding New Afrikans' ability to succeed in their endeavors. Now, more than ever, New

Afrikans believe they are balancing their goals, RNA strategy, and political practicality in ways that increase their success. For example, Chokwe Lumumba is, at the time of this writing, a member of the Jackson City Council. New Afrikans in the PG-RNA, NAPO, and Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) were instrumental in influencing him to run for that position. Now they are beginning to organize his campaign for mayor of Jackson.

This dissertation has argued that participation in the New Afrikan Independence Movement changed the lives of activists. People like Lumumba joined the movement because they agreed that Black liberation could only be achieved outside of the United States' governance. They went through Nation Building classes and learned the history and inner workings of the PG-RNA. Lumumba and others who eventually became life-long citizens adapted their lifestyles to correspond with their interpretations of the theories that drove their activism. Therefore, New Afrikans changed their names or justified holding on to their birth names; they rethought their styles of dress; and learned how to utilize their academic talents and employment opportunities in service of the revolution. Their opinions about family also evolved and/or underwent reconceptualization through the frameworks of RNA nationalism.

However, such changes never occurred in only one direction. As they struggled to live their revolutionary ideals, New Afrikans developed deeper criticisms of the world around them, the movement in which they participated, and the people with whom they worked and shared communities. Such critiques compelled them to reconfigure their movement. At times, they caused disagreements and internal discord as evidenced by the two Constitutional Crises. As a result of these antagonisms, novel ideas emerged and new organizations, such as NAPO, N'COBRA, and MXGM, formed around them. These New Afrikan organizations and citizens

gave enduring consistency to RNA ideas and the republic's political struggle even as times and political realities changed and New Afrikans' contemporaries ceased participating.

Lifestyle politics, or the lived interpretation of ideology, formed a central element in the evolution of RNA participants' beliefs and practices. Because they were critical of their surroundings and the organizations, they joined with the hopes of changing their circumstances. New Afrikans constantly reconsidered their political activism and their collective fight against oppression and for independence. Sometimes the addition of children into one's family occasioned a moment of such re-conception. At other times, imprisonment, the loss of a friend or comrade, or the perceived misdirection of key leaders strengthened dedicated members' resolve to "properly" rethink and theorize the movement. Whatever the impetus, the NAIM and its participants constantly changed and evolved in both spectacular and commonplace ways.

The history of the RNA, then, illustrates how continuity, rupture, and evolution collectively animate activists' personal lives, the societies they seek to build and/or transform, and the political activism they employ to achieve their goals. No one aspect of this dialectic should be seen as over determined, because they exist equally and work together to shape societal and political realities. With regard to continuity, the RNA's duration as a visible presence in Black political activism and the maintenance of its central ideas demonstrate that from one era in history to the next, many ideas and struggles persist. However, it is a mistake to assume that the continued existence of an idea and effort qualifies as a "long movement." Perpetuating such an assertion erases the nuance with which people adapt concepts to their specific, constantly evolving political contexts. Further, it occludes the lessons that human beings learn through their practices and neglects to account for how people reconfigure those practices over time. This study of the RNA serves as a reminder that even as particular elements

of a political movement remain, they, along with the oppressive system they challenge, are in constant flux and best understood in the context of each political era that encapsulates them.

Where to Go From Here

This study attempted to address the "why" and "how" of the RNA. Why did the RNA arise and what key events have happened since its formation? Why did Detroit serve as its birthplace? Why did some people opt to become New Afrikans and seek complete independence from the United States instead trying to change U.S. society and demand equality within it? Why did some New Afrikans take on Afrikan names while others maintained their slave names? In this dissertation, I presented some factors that help us begin to determine the answers to these questions, but no one explanation fully suffices. As more scholars investigate Black Power activism from the vantage point of heretofore understudied entities, individuals, and locales, a fuller understanding of "why" will become more apparent. In the meantime, in this study, I intended to elucidate the "how," or the processes by which the aforementioned phenomena occurred. In exploring the "life course" of individual New Afrikans, this dissertation provided more insight into the ways in which activists constituted the RNA and the NAIM by detailing the historical context in which founders established them and delineating the various developments that took place over the course of two decades. In so doing, I underscored how activists' lives altered through the confluence of personal, intra-organizational, and external forces that all worked together (even when in seeming opposition to each other) to shape and reshape the RNA, independence struggle, and the Black Power movement.

This study of the RNA is far from complete. There are several aspects of the New Afrikan Independence Movement that require further research. First, the Provisional Government is but one entity seeking New Afrikan independence. Since 1968, organizations

such as the Islamic Republic of New Afrika, the New Afrikan Peoples Organization, and the Afrikan Peoples Party have all taken up that cause and sought solidarity with nations seeking liberation in Africa and elsewhere. What is more, New Afrikans played an essential role in bringing about the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA). Though I mention some of these groups in this study, I plan to investigate their histories in more detail as I expand and revise my dissertation into a publishable monograph.

Further, many RNA members birthed and raised children whom they exposed to RNA ideology and the movement for New Afrikan independence. New Afrikan children proffer unique perspectives and critiques of the RNA and the NAIM. Sometimes the younger generation's views coincide with those of their parents', but very often, they contradict what citizen-parents believed and taught. By engaging this younger generation, I hope to advance greater discernment of the RNA's successes and failures and contribute to debates about the "long movement." I have begun establishing relationships with some potential interviewees whose participation with and feelings about the RNA are as diverse as their parents'.

Finally, although chapter six of this dissertation commenced an investigation of the relationship between the FBI and New Afrikans, I believe that the topic necessitates extended research and would be beneficial to students of Black Power. A more expansive study of those interactions would provide scholars with information that can be used to compare and contrast the repression of various Black Power organizations with the state-sanctioned suppression of Black activists formations that emerged in 1980s and 1990s. In addition to helping develop a greater understanding and critique of the United States' treatment of political dissidents, such a project would improve scholars' and activists' comprehension of the evolution of the United States' repressive tactics over the last three decades. The U.S. government's recent decision to

reopen several "cold cases" involving former Black Panthers and details about the state-authorized raids on and detention of Occupy activists in Chicago and elsewhere potentially provide evidence that severely challenges any claims that FBI repression has ceased since the death of Edgar J. Hoover. What is more, organizations such as the Jericho Movement recently pressured the U.S. government to reopen cases connected with the FBI's COINTELPRO.[419] A critical analysis of the RNA's interactions with the state could be beneficial as groups such as Jericho strive to make their case.

With continued study of the RNA and other New Afrikan formations, I will strive to help enhance Black Power movement literature specifically and studies of leftist activism in the United States more generally. Critical research on the RNA will provide insight into hitherto marginalized areas of Black Power-era thought. For example, though the concept of territorial nationalism garnered Black activists' and their allies' focused attention at national gatherings, scholarship on the era generally neglects this topic of discussion. More in-depth research on the RNA and other New Afrikan formations may also help clarify New Afrikans' relationships with activists in the Black Panther Party, the Us Organization, the Congress of African Peoples, and other national and local Black Power organizations. A more expansive interrogation of these affiliations could illuminate previously unknown dimensions of the tensions that existed between various organizations and their goals. For instance, even if some activists – such as those in Congress of African Peoples – agreed on the viability of Black independence as a goal, they did not seem to take New Afrikan identity as seriously as RNA members did. African Americans at large have been equally hesitant to take on that name and political identity. By including New Afrikans and other territorial nationalists in Black Power studies, scholars can begin to enhance their general knowledge and understanding of such issues.

Appendix A: Key Concepts and Acronyms

Black Nationalism	Various ideologies that believe in and/or seek a Black nation in the United States.
Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM)	A grassroots New Afrikan organization that seeks to defend the human rights of the U.S. Black population and promote the self-determination of Black communities.
Provisional Government, Republic of New Afrika (PG-RNA)	The governmental structure created in March 1968 that has been at the forefront of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.
New Afrikan	Person who is actively engaged with the New Afrikan Independence Movement, either through the PG-RNA or one of the other organizations that seeks political independence and statehood for African Americans.
New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM)	The collection of organizations and efforts that seek an independent Black nation-state comprised of several southern U.S. states.
New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO)	Organization founded by New Afrikans who thought the Provisional Government was premature. They decided to focus on doing community organizing and building up educated cadre who could develop a strong social movement for New Afrikan independence.
Republic of New Africa (RNA)	The Republic of New Afrika is technically the "captive" territory in the South that belongs to African descended people in the United States. Scholars have used "RNA" loosely to refer the organized body of people who worked to "Free the Land."
Self-Determination	Self-determination generally infers that a group has the liberty to determine their own fate in social and political arenas. For African Americans, it includes their rights to exercise political power, obtain land and wealth by their own efforts, to acquire and control their education, and to use such assets to further their own causes. For Marxists, self-determination for oppressed nations typically means that they would have the right to struggle for independence. New Afrikans understood it to ultimately include their right to decide whether they would create an independent nation.

Appendix B: Interviewee Profile Chart

	Name	Birth Date	Birthplace	Brief Description
1	**Afrik, Baba Hannibal Tirus** (aka Harold Charles)	1934	Newport, RI	A respected elder who joined the RNA in 1969. Afrik was a personal aid to Imari Obadele and considered a leader in the RNA's military, the New Afrikan Security Forces.
2	**Anderson, Michael "Balogun"**	05 November 1947	Detroit, MI	Former member of the Black Legion and bodyguard to Gaidi Obadele.
3	**Ferguson, Herman [aka Adekoye Akinwole]**	31 December 1920	Fayetteville, NC	A former schoolteacher and administrator who was exiled to Guyana for his alleged role in a conspiracy to murder civil rights leaders. An original signer of RNA "Declaration of Independence."
4	**Akinwole, Iyaluua [Constance Ferguson]**	29 June 1932	Brooklyn, New York	An original signer of the RNA "Declaration of Independence" and former editor of New Afrikan periodical, *Nation Time*.
5	**Jackson, Dr. Melanie Njeri**	24 February 1950	San Francisco, CA	The wife of a late RNA member who hijacked a plane to Cuba. She never became a

				"conscious citizen" of the RNA.
6	**Kambui, Mikea**	1963	Jackson, MS	A member of the younger generation of RNA cadre. He was a child when the police and FBI attacked the Lewis Street home of the RNA.
7	**Killingham, Marilyn Joyce Brown Preston**	30 August 1933	Nashville, TN	A former RAM leader and RNA supporter-citizen until her death in December 2009.
8	**Lumumba, Chokwe (aka Edward Taliaferro)**	02 August 1947	Detroit, MI	Former RNA leader and critic of the PG-RNA. He co-founded two subsequent New Afrikan organizations and is currently involved with Jackson, Mississippi city politics.
9	**Mwesi, Baba Jumaani (aka James L. Brooks)**		Detroit, MI	An RNA elder and close friend and caretaker of Hannibal Tirus Afrik.
10	**Mustafa, Khalil (aka Kenneth Miller)**	1944	New Rochelle, NY	Prison organizer for the PG-RNA.
11	**Mwendo, Ukali**	28 September 1950	New Orleans, LA	RNA citizen since 1970. He provided some organizational detail about the PG-RNA and insights about New Afrikan

				Political Science.
12	**Nubyahn, Brother_ D. B. Aammaa (aka Darryl Brian Davis)**	1956	Brooklyn, NY	Elder in the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and former Minister of Health and Culture in the PG-RNA.
13	**Owusu, Sekou (aka Raymond Niro)**	24 September 1948	Queens, NY	RNA citizen since 1969 and most recent past president of the PG-RNA.
14	**Rashid, General Kuratibisha Ali X (aka Ulysses S. Garth)**	09 December 1936	Panola, AL	The "99th" signer of the RNA "Declaration of Independence" and longtime Legionnaire.
15	**Simmons, Dr. Gwendolyn Zoharah**	09 August 1944	Memphis, TN	SNCC member and sometimes RNA ally. She believes that she became a conscious citizen in the late 1960s, but never fully participated.
16	**Sunni-Ali, Bilal (aka William Roger Edward Johnson**)	13 July 1948	Bronx, NY	Former panther, longtime Legionnaire, and musician. He was accused of helping plan the 1981 Brinks "expropriation."
17	**Taifa, Nkechi (aka Anita Caldwell)**	29 December 1954	Washington, D.C.	Personal assistant to Imari Obadele during the 1970s, leader of the Committee to Free the RNA-11, former

				Chairperson of N'COBRA.
18	**Trice, Richard "Bokeba"**	10 June 1953	Detroit, MI	Youth leader in the Black Legion, personal friend of Imari Obadele, II, and lifelong Detroit activist.
19	**Umoja, Akinyele Omowale**	10 August 1954	Los Angeles, CA	Member of the House of Umoja/Afrikan Peoples Party (an offshoot of the Revolutionary Action Movement). Umoja is a New Afrikan with extensive contacts in the PG-RNA and other New Afrikan organizations.

Appendix C: Sample RNA Interview Questionnaire

Background
Please state your name.

Please describe your earliest memory of going to school.

What is the highest level of education you've received? **If higher Education**: When did you attend college, technical school, etc.? What did you study? What degree did you get?

What career aspirations did you have growing up? Did your education influence those aspirations? Did your education help you achieve any of them?

What is your earliest memory of religion or spirituality? How would you explain your understanding of religion and/or spirituality when you were growing up at home? Did your religious/spiritual worldview change or evolve as grew into adulthood? Please explain how.

Questions about family growing up to get a sense of how family was structured and influenced respondent's views about family later in life. "Nuclear family" or alternative structure? Non-parental family upbringing?

Did your family have intentional intimate moments geared toward strengthening bonds (e.g. vacations, family outings, special dinners, etc.)? Did you observe any specific rituals such as religious and national holidays, birthdays, or death observations/celebrations?

What types of work did your parents or guardians do? How would you explain your diet when you lived with your family?

How would you describe your political consciousness during high school (or mid- to late-teenage years depending on education)? Did you participate with any political groups or organizations? If so, who (get explanation of those not widely known)?

When did you first hear of the Republic of New Africa? What did you think about them when you first heard of them? What attracted you to them?

With the RNA

How would you define "New African"? Spelled with 'k'?

When did you become an active RNA citizen? Still an active citizen? If not, when did you stop identifying with RNA?

What is your fondest memory of the RNA?

As New African, what were your primary responsibilities to the Provisional Government? How did you support yourself as an RNA citizen? Did you work a job outside of the RNA? If so, what did you do?

If non-European European name: Is your current name the one your parents gave you? Would you mind sharing your birth name? When did you change your name? Why did you change your name? How do you spell it? What does your name mean? **Did respondent change part of her/his name?** If so, why just part instead of whole? **If European**: Why did you keep your slave name? Was there ever any pressure for you to change it?

How would describe the New Afrikan family? How does it differ from European ideals about family and relationships?

Did you have any children? Did you try to raise them as New Africans?

Do you believe in/adhere to any specific spiritual belief system? If so, did you practice anything before your participation with the RNA? Did you practice any specific religion during your participation with the RNA?

Could you describe some festivals and/or observations created for New Afrikans? Any special clothing to attend? Food?

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[2] Conversation with General Kuratibisha X Ali Rashid 29 March 2010

[3] The Republic of New Africa, *Forming Municipal, County, and Parish Councils in the Kush District, Republic of New Africa* (c. January 1976), 3, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Box 1, Series 1, Bay 1, Folder 1. They settled on the name, "Republic of New Africa" after deciding against "Songhay Republic." See "Founding Convention Schedule Draft," John Bracey, Jr. and Sharon Harley, eds. *The Black Power Movement Part 2: The Papers of Robert F. Williams* [hereafter ROB] Group 1, Series 4, Reel 10, Frame 138; Milton R. Henry & Brother Imari (Richard B. Henry) to Hon. George Romney, 15 January 1968, in Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Subject: Henry, Milton" [hereafter FBI-MRH], Disk 1, Section 4, 4.

[4] For information about the founding convention, see Imari Abubakari Obadele, *War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine*, Revised Edition (Detroit: The Malcolm X Society, 1968); Raymond L. Hall, *Black Separatism in the United States* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1978), 219-220.

[5] See "1970 Fast Facts," U.S. Census Bureau http://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1970_fast_facts.html; "Report from Black America," *Newsweek* 73 (June 1969): 20; Harlan Hahn, "Black Separatists: Attitudes and Objectives in a Riot-Torn Ghetto," Journal of Black Studies 1, no. 1 (September 1970): 36. The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture estimates that there were between 5,000 and 10,000 New Afrikans in 1984.

[6] Self-determination generally infers that a group has the liberty to determine their own social and political fates. For African Americans, it includes their rights to exercise political power, obtain land and wealth by their own efforts, acquire and control their education, and use available assets to further their own causes. For Marxists, self-determination for oppressed nations typically means the right to struggle for independence. New Afrikans understood it to ultimately include their right to decide whether they would create an independent nation. For discussions on self-determination, see James R. Forman, *Self-Determination & the African-American People* (Seattle: Open Hand Publishing, 1981); V.P. Franklin, *Black Self-Determination*; and V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works* Vol. 20, December 1913 – August 1914, ed. Julius Katzer, trans. by Bernard Isaacs and Joe Fineberg (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 393-455.

[7] W. Lance Bennett, "Branded Political Communication: Lifestyle Politics, Logo Campaigns, and the Rise of Global Citizenship," in Michele Micheletti, Andreas Follesdal, and Dietlind Stolle, eds. *The Politics Behind Products* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 2004), 101-125, quote on 103. See also W. Lance Bennett, "1998 Ithiel De Sola Pool Lecture: The UnCivic Culture: Communication, Identity, and the Rise of Lifestyle Politics," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 31, no. 4 (December 1998): 740-761.

[8] Rondee Jeanette Gaines, "Race, Power, and Representation: Broadcast News Portrayal of the Republic of New Africa, " Master's Thesis, The University of Alabama, 2003; and Richards, "A Profile of the Leaders." The other theses, though they attempt to be historical in nature, focus on the RNA in Mississippi. They both lack significant information and useful methodologies. See Rose Ragsdale, "'They Never Stood a Chance': An Analysis of the Print

Media's Coverage of the Republic of New Africa in Mississippi from March 1971 to September 1971," Masters Thesis, Stanford University, 1983;and Lewis Hugh Wilson, "The Hawkish Doves: A History of the Republic of New Africa," Masters Thesis, Mississippi College, 1986.

[9] See Robert H. Brisbane, *Black Activism: Racial Revolution in the United States, 1954-1970* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1974); Raymond L. Hall, *Black Separatism in the United States* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1978); and William L. Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[10] Dan Berger and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, "'The Struggle Is for Land!': Race, Territory, and National Liberation," in Dan Berger, ed. *The Hidden 1970s: Histories of Radicalism* (New Brunswick, NJ & London: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 57-76, quote on 58. Donald Cunnigen, "The Republic of New Africa in Mississippi," in Judson L. Jeffries, ed., *Black Power in the Belly of the Beast* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 93-115 originally published as "Bringing the Revolution Down Home," Sociological Spectrum 19, no. 1 (January 1999): 63-92; Christian Davenport, "Understanding Covert Repressive Action: The Case of the U.S. Government Against the Republic of New Africa," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 1 (February 2005): 120-140.

[11] Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, *America's First Black Town: Brooklyn, Illinois, 1830-1915* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 5-7.

[12] Scot Brown, Fighting for US: Maulana Karenga, the US Organization, and Black Cultural Nationalism (New York: New York University Press, 2003), especially chapter 3; Scot Brown, "The Politics of Culture: The US Organization and the Quest for Black 'Unity,'" in Theoharis and Woodard, *Freedom North*, 223-253, quote on 225; Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968-1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Robyn Ceanne Spencer, "Engendering the Black Freedom Struggle: Revolutionary Black Womanhood and the Black Panther Party in the Bay Area, California," *Journal of Women's History* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 90-113; and Robyn Ceanne Spencer, "Inside the Panther Revolution: The Black Freedom Movement and the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California," in Theoharris and Woodard, eds., *Groundwork*, 300-317, quote on 311.

[13] See also Amilcar Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture," *Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral*, ed. African Information Service (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1973), 39-56; Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. By Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 206-248; Larry Neal, "Any Day Now: Black Art and Liberation," *Ebony Magazine* 1969; reprt. in *The Black Revolution: An Ebony Special* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), 31-53; and V.P. Franklin, *Black Self-Determination: A Cultural History of African-American Resistance* 2nd Edition (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1992).

[14] Richards, "A Profile of the Leaders." For more on life course perspectives, see Doug McAdam, "The Biographical Impact of Activism," Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly, eds. *How Social Movements Matter*, in Bert Klandermans, ed. *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention* Vol. 10 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, 119-14?). For examples of identity formation and transformation and collective identity, respectively, see William C. Cross, Jr., "Toward a Psychology of Black Liberation: The Negro-To-Black Conversion Experience," *Black World* (July 1971):13-27; and Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper, "Collective Identity and Social Movements," *Annual Review Sociology* 27 (2001): 283–305.

[15] Kathleen M. Blee and Verta Taylor, "Semi-Structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research," in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, eds. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 111.

[16] For Dash's method, see Leon Dash, *Rosa Lee: A Mother and Her Family in Urban America* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1996).

[17] See Rhonda Y. Williams, "'I'm a Keeper of Information': History-Telling and Voice," *Oral History Review* 28, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2001), 43; for an example of Leon Dash's interviewing technique, see Dash, *When Children Want Children: An Inside Look at the Crisis of Teenage Parenthood* (New York: William Morrow, 1989).

[18] See for example, Jeffries, *Black Power in the Belly of the Beast*; and Joseph, ed. *The Black Power Movement*;

[19] "Honor Roll Prisoners of War Black Liberation Army and Republic of New Afrika," n.d. Nkechi Taifa Papers.

[20] Churchill and Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression*, 61.

[21] Republic of New Afrika, New Afrikan Oath, July 1968.

[22] On C.L. Franklin, see Reverend Albert B. Cleage, Jr., "Freedom March," *The Illustrated News* [hereafter *TIN*] 3, no. 2 (June, 10 1963), 3; and "Rev. Albert B. Cleage Resigns from DCHR," *TIN* 3, no. 22 (October 28, 1963), 3. See also Angela D. Dillard, *Faith in the City: Preaching Radical Social Change in Detroit* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007), 269-272.

[23] "Cops' Version of Gun Battle in Detroit Church Accepted," *Chicago Tribune* 09 April 1969, ProQuest Historical Newspapers Chicago Tribune (1849 – 1985), A3; "Policeman Killed in Detroit Battle: Clash at Church Follows Black Militant Meeting," *New York Times* 31 March 1969, ProQuest Historical Newspapers The New York Times (1851 – 2004), 1; "New Detroit to Probe Church Raid Charges," *Detroit News* (08 April 1969), 2A, 4A, Radical Information Project, University of Maryland, College Park, http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/davenport/proj2.htm [hereafter RIP] (viewed 24 February 2008); John Griffith, "Cavanaugh Defends Police Acts," *Free Press* (02 April 1969), RIP; See, The Republic of New Afrika, "Republic of New Afrika," document in author's possession; Al Stark, "'Shot on the Floor': Bethel Raid Victim Talks," *Detroit News* 04 April 1969, 3A, RIP; and Lee Winfrey, "Police Tell of Shooting in Church," *Free Press* (09 April 1969), 1A, 8A, RIP. See also, the Detroit Police Commissioner's 24th District Reporter: Del Rio – Reports, New Detroit, Inc. Records [hereafter NDI], Box 188, Folder 27, University Archives, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan [hereafter Reuther].

[24] Lester's clever, albeit problematic, title played on the widely recognized fear that African Americans would exact revenge on White America for enslavement, racial violence, and discrimination by violently taking over the United States and sexually conquering White women. Although Lester's book seeks to undermine the mainstream perception of the Black Liberation movement, he does not apply equal criticism to the feminine metaphor for the nation. Julius Lester, *Look Out Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama* (New York: Dial Press, 1968). For and White fears about Black domination, see Robert Reguly, "Detroit: The Housewives are Packing Guns" in ROB Group 1, Series 4, Reel 10, Frame 26.

[25] David M. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973); David M. Lewis-Coleman, *Race Against Liberalism: Black Workers and the UAW in Detroit* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Richard W. Thomas, *Life For Us is What We Make it: Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 1-19; and Susan Welch, Lee Sigelman, Timothy Bledsoe, and Michael Combs, *Race and Place: Race Relations in an American City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 21-22.

[26] Lewis-Coleman, *Race Against Liberalism*, 1-24.

[27] James A. Geschwender, *Class, Race, and Worker Insurgency: The League of Revolutionary Black Workers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Harvard Sitkoff, "The Detroit Race Riot of 1943," *Michigan History* 53, no. 3 (Fall 1969): 183-206; and B.J. Widdick, *Detroit: City of Race and Class Violence* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1972), 5-22.

[28] Historian Megan Taylor Shockley demonstrates how such women employed the rhetorical power of motherhood as a tool in many of these battles for what they considered to be full citizenship rights that challenged the apparently masculine norm. Megan Taylor Shockley, *"We, Too, Are Americans": African American Women in Detroit and Richmond, 1940-1954* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 170-204.

[29] Dillard, *Faith in the City*; August Meier & Elliot Rudwick, *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979, repr. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007), 219; James

Edward Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement: Literary Nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 183. For a general characterization of the shift to direct action, see Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970,* 2nd Edition (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999); and Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The *Free Press*, 1984). See also, Erik S. McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism, and the Making of Black Left Feminism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011).

[30] Sidney Fine, "Expanding the Frontiers of Civil Rights": Michigan, 1948-1968 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 9.

[31] Fine, "Expanding the Frontier," 220.

[32] Dillard, *Faith in the City*, 210-220; and Meier and Rudwick, 221.

[33] Mac Warrant, ed. *Independent Black Political Action, 1954-78: The Struggle to Break with the Democratic and Republic Parties* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1982), 17.

[34] Boggs, a Chinese American woman who earned her PhD in Philosophy in 1940, was a notable activist whose political ambitions, intellectual prowess, and marriage to James Boggs ranked her amongst the "who's who" of Detroit activists involved in Black liberation struggle. James Boggs was a southern-born revolutionary thinker and activist whose 1963 book, *The American Revolution: Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook*, distinguished him from other Marxian thinkers of his time because of his emphasis on African Americans as a revolutionary class. Together the interracial couple developed important relationships with C.L.R. James, Kwame Nkrumah, and the Social Workers Party. By the early 1960s they were independent theorists whose home and ideas had become popular among young revolutionaries. Reverend Cleage was a "Christian Nationalist" minister who would later create the Shrine of the Black Madonna. His brand of liberation theology had, by the early 1960s, energized him to use a combination of grassroots and institutional politics to achieve Black equality. Grace Lee Boggs, *Living for Change: An Autobiography* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 34; Dillard, *Faith in the City*; Peniel E. Joseph, *Waiting Til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2006), 84-94; and Suzanne E. Smith, *Dancing in the Street: Motown and the Cultural Politics of Detroit* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1999). See also Muhammad Ahmad (Maxwell Stanford, Jr.), *We Will Return in the Whirlwind: Black Radical Organizations, 1960-1975* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 2007), 137 &143.

[35] James A. Geschwender and Judson L. Jeffries, "The League of Revolutionary Black Workers," Judson L. Jeffries, ed. *Black Power in the Belly of the Beast*, 135-162. See also Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkins, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, 2nd Ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: South End Press, 1998); Geschwender, *Class, Race, and Worker Insurgency*, quote on xiii; and Heather Ann Thompson, *Whose Detroit?: Politics, Labor, and Race in a Modern City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

[36] Stanford, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*.

[37] For connections between New Afrikans and BPP, see Ahmad A. Rahman, "Marching Blind: The Rise and Fall of the Black Panther Party in Detroit," Yohuru Williams and Jama Lazerow, eds., *Liberated Territory: Untold Local Perspectives on the Black Panther Party* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 181-231. See also, Curtis J. Austin, *Up Against the Wall: Violence and the Making and Unmaking of the Black Panther Party* (University of Arkansas Press, 2007).

[38] See Claude Andrew Clegg III, *An Original Man: The Life and Times of Elijah Muhammad* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997; Michael A. Gomez, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For an interesting and important discussion about including the NOI more fully into the discussion of Black Power, see Askia Muhammad, "'Black Power' and the Shallow Scholarship at the Smithsonian," *Black Journalism Review* (24 March 2009), http://www.blackjournalism.com/?p=149 (viewed 7 April 2009).

[39] "'GOAL' Takes New Tack," *TIN* 1, no. 104 (November 13, 1961), quotes on page 3; "School Bias Fight: 'GOAL' President Defies Brownell," *TIN* 2, no. 39 (24 September 1962); "Re-Thinking Integration," *TIN*, 1, no. 107, 4 & 7, quote on page 4; "Subject: Milton Henry" [hereafter FBI-MRH], 17 August 1964, Section 1, 114; Sidney Fine, Violence in the Model City: The Cavanaugh Administration, Race Relations, and the Detroit Riot of 1967 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1989), 26; Richard B. Henry, "'GOAL' Defines Position on Urban Renewal," *TIN* 2, no. 10 (5 March 1962), 2, 6; Richard Henry, "Urban Renewal: Patrick and the Real Issues," *TIN* 2, no 14 (2 April 1962), 3; GOAL, "Key Questions and Answers on Urban Renewal by GOAL," *TIN* 2, no. 15 (9 April 1962), 4-5; and "How Segregated Super Market Buying Keeps You from Enjoying Vicki's Bar-B-Q Sauce," *TIN* 2 no. 44 (12 November 1962), 7.

[40] In contrast with popular perceptions of Detroit, one of the city's police commissioners claimed that his predominately White police force was 90% bigoted. The Black community was no stranger to overt hostility. In a survey study, 40% of Black respondents revealed that police displayed an attitude of general disrespect. They referred to Black men as "boy" and treated Black women as if they were prostitutes. Additionally, the police's disproportionate arrest of Black Detroiters, regular use of "stop-and-frisk," and physical violence convinced African Americans that their neighborhoods were occupied by a hostile army. In fact, between January 1, 1961 and July 23, 1967 (the first day of the Detroit rebellion), African Americans comprised 59% of those who complained that the police brutalized them. See Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 97-115.

[41] Ahmad, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*, 122-123 and 151-152; Ernest Dunbar, "The Making of a Militant," *Saturday Night Review of Society* 55, no 51 (January 1973): 25-32; SA William J. Winchester to Secret Service, Detroit, 14 December 1965, FBI-MRH, Section 2, 3; See, Malcolm X, "God's Judgment of White America (The Chickens Come Home to Roost)," ed. by Imam Benjamin Karim, http://www.malcolm-x.org/speeches/spc_120463.htm [viewed 20 September 2011];
Robert Sherrill, "Birth of a (Black) Nation," *Esquire: The Magazine for Men* 71, no. 1 (January 1969), 72.

[42] Obadele, *War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine* Revised Edition (Detroit: The Malcolm X Society, 1968), 3-4; Van Deburg, 144-145; Chokwe Lumumba, *The Roots of the New Afrikan Independence Movement: A Response to the Inaccurate and Politically Immature Attacks on the New Afrikan Independence Movement by the African People's Socialist Party* (Jackson, MS: New Afrikan Productions, n.d.), 9; and Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*, George Breitman, ed. (New York: Merit Publishers, 1965; reprt. New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990).

[43] See "The Changing Image of the Negro," *TIN* 1, no. 107 (4 December 1961), 2; "Re-Thinking Integration," TIN 1, no. 107 (4 December 1961), 3 & 7; and Dunbar, "The Making of a Militant," 29.

[44] Brother Imari, *War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine* Revised Edition (Detroit: The Malcolm X Society, 1968), 1. Emphasis in the original.

[45] Atty. Milton Henry and Imari (Richard B. Henry), "Statement of the Malcolm X Society to the Hudson Committee, n.d., NDI Box 135, Folder 29; Obadele, *War*; Dunbar, "The Making of a Militant," 29; and Sherrill, "Birth of a (Black) Nation," 72-73.

[46] See for example Fine, *Violence in the Model City*; Widdick, *Detroit*; United States Kerner Commission, U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968).

[47] Henry and Imari, "Statement of the Malcolm X Society"; Ahmad, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*, 151-152; Dunbar, "The Making of a Militant," 31; Fine, *Violence in the Model City*; and Gary Willis, *The Second Civil War: Arming for Armageddon* (New York: The New American Library, 1968), 128-129, 132-133.

[48] Atty. Milton Henry and Imari (Richard B. Henry), "Statement of the Malcolm X Society to the Hudson Committee, n.d., NDI Box 135, Folder 29; Obadele, War; Dunbar, 29; and Sherrill, 72-73.

[49] Lumumba, *The Roots*, 37-38.

[50] For details about the CP's take on Black self-determination, see James S. Allen, *The Negro Question in the United States* (New York: International Publishers, 1936), 195-203; Lumumba, *The Roots*, 5-8, 38-39; and Stanford, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*, 10-11. For Queen Mother Moore's take on the CP's abandoning of Black self-determination, see Erik S. McDuffie, "'I Wanted a Communist Philosophy, but I Wanted Us to Have a Chance to Organize Our People': The Diasporic Radicalism of Queen Mother Audley Moore and the Origins of Black Power," *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 3, no. 2 (June 2010): 185.

[51] Gary Blonston, "Group Linked to Shooting: RNA's Goal: Black Nation," *Detroit Free Press* 31 March 1969, 1A & 10A Col. 3 in Detroit Commission on Community Relations-Human Rights Department: Part 3 [hereafter DCCR], Box 21, Folder 23, Reuther; Sherrill, 72. The conference took place at three different locations: The Shrine of the Black Madonna (7625 Linwood Ave); the 20 Grand Motel; and Wayne State University.

[52] Kuratibisha Ali X Rashid, "The Military Story Behind the Founding of the Republic of New Afrika," unpublished document, n.d.; Lumumba, 9-10. Quote on page 10.

[53] Brother Milton R. Henry, Letter 15 March 1968. In author's possession.

[54] John Bracey, Jr. and Sharon Harley, eds. *The Black Power Movement Part 3: The Papers of the Revolutionary Action Movement* [hereafter RAM], "Congressional Hearing, 'Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders,'" Reel 16, Series 12, Frames 397-402.

[55] Quote from Republic of New Afrika, "The Declaration of Independence." See also RAM, "Congressional Hearing," Frames 401-402.

[56] "Proposal: The Provisional Government," ROB Reel 10 Group 1 Series 4 Frame 138; "Code of Umoja" in *RIP*; Gaidi Obadele, "Executive Order Number 1," ROB Reel 10, Group 1, Series 4, Frame 162; and "The Republic of New Africa," in Charles V. Hamilton, ed. The Black Experience in American Politics (New York: Capricorn Books; G.P. Putman's Sons, 1973), 61.

[57] "Congressional Hearing," Frame 402; "New Africans Push Black Legion, Tax, Popular Vote," *Ujamaa Newsletter* 1, no. 1 (15 June 1968), 1, University of Michigan, Labadie Collection [hereafter Labadie]; Obadele, *Free the Land!*, 90. For background on the PG-RNA's strategy, see Brother Imari, *War in America*.

[58] Imari Obadele, "Freedom: The Eight Strategic Elements Necessary for Success of A Black Nation in America" (A Synopsis of a Speech by Brother Imari, September 1968), n.d., T/027: Republic of New Africa Collection [hereafter RNA Collection], Box 1, Folder 1, Mississippi Department of Archives and History [hereafter MDAH].

[59] Obadele, "Eight Strategic Elements"; Obadele, Imari Abubakari Obadele, I, *Revolution and Nation Building: Strategy for Building the Black Nation in America* (Detroit: The House of Songhay, Publishers, 1970), 18-30; and The Republic of New Africa, "Short Official Basic Documents."

[60] Obadele, "Eight Strategic Elements." See also Donald Cunnigen, "The Republic of New Africa in Mississippi," 94-115; and Kalamu Ya Salaam, "We Are New Afrika: RNA and the Promise of Pan-Afrikan Nationalism in America," *Black Books Bulletin* 4, no. 4 (Winter 1976), 62-71.

[61] Imari Abubakari Obadele, I, *Revolution and Nation Building*, 6-10, 30-31. See also, Sherrill, "Birth of a (Black) Nation," 75; Imari Abubakari Obadele, *War*, 51-64.

[62] There were two RNA offices on Puritan Street. The first was located at 2217 Puritan. They later moved the office to 2595 Puritan Street and then to 9823 Dexter St. RNA meetings also took place in various homes, the local YMCA, the 20 Grand motel, and Wayne State University. Michigan State Police, "Additional Complaint Report," 14 May 1969. See also, "Black Army Seeking Recruits: Women Included," *Michigan Chronicle* 01 March 1969, in *RIP*; "Petition Campaign for 'Juridical Status' For Blacks, *Michigan Chronicle* 7 June 1969, in *RIP*; Detroit Police

Department, "Surveillance of Stuart Williams House N/M/22, 16595 Baylis," 2 January 1969, *RIP*; Detroit Police Department, "Information Received from Special Investigation Bureau Source [deleted]," 7 February 1969, *RIP*; Detroit Police Department, "Information Received From Special Investigation Bureau Source # 718," 12 November 1969, ROB Reel 21, Group 2, Series 4, Frames. Quote from "The New Afrikan Creed: Fundamental Principles that Guide the New Afrikan Independence Movement."

[63] "Williams Calls for Broad Foreign Aid to Africa," *Ujamaa Newsletter* 1, no. 1 (15 June 1968), 1, Labadie; and Salaam, "We Are New Afrika," 67-69.

[64] "1969" in RIP; "Congressional Hearing," Frame 345, 402; and Salaam, "We Are New Afrika," 68.

[65] "Petition Drive on For Black Republic," *Jet* (12 September 1968) in ROB, Reel 9 Group 1, Series 4, Frame 210; "Reparations Drive Started," The New African 1, no. 1 (20 July 1968), 1 in RAM Series 10, Reel 14, Frame 11; "Williams Calls for Broad Foreign Aid to Africa"; Imari Obadele to Robert Williams, 28 November 1968, ROB Reel 20, Group 2, Series 4, Frames 770-771; and Salaam, "We Are New Afrika." For media coverage of the Black Power Conference, see "Plan ' Separate Nation for U.S. Black People," *Journal and Guide* 11 September 1968, ROB Reel 10, Group 1, Series 4, Frame 28. For more detail on Black college students, see "1969."

[66] "Gunmen Out to Get Me, Says Bethel Defendant," *Detroit Free Press* 30 October 1970, RIP; Sister Ayodele, Letter, n.d., RIP; Blonston, 1A; Douglas Glazier, "Bethel Trial To Be Heard By Circuit Judge Gilmore," *Detroit News* 9 September 1970, RIP; Fred Manardo, "Fuller, Freed in Bethel Case, Is Slain by Knifer, *Detroit News* 20 October 1970, 1A & 10A, RIP; and Paul Scott, "Bare Plot to Take Over Ocean Hill as Black Nation," *New York Daily Column* 17 February 1969, 1, 4. Quote in "New Africa Head Blasts Cahalan," *Michigan Chronicle* 4 July 1970, Box 21, Folder 23, DCCR. For a full transcript of George Crockett's handling of arrestees and complaints about police conduct, see 24th District Reporter: Del Rio – Reports, NDI, Box 188, Folder 27; Obadele, *Free the Land!*, 36; and Rahman, "Walking Blind,"189-190.

[67] General Kuratibisha Ali X Rashid, stated "The Detroit shootout and this one here cause they scared hell outta people who were selling us land. They took it back – and made us the enemy." Conversation with Baba Hannibal Afrik, 29 March 2010.

[68] John Peterson, "Anatomy of the Shootout," *Detroit News* 7 April 1969; Detroit Police Department, "Information Received from Special Investigation Bureau Source [deleted]," RIP; Michigan State Police.

[69] Salaam, "We Are New Afrika," 68-69; Milton R. Henry to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, n.d. ROB Reel 10, Group 1, Frames 163-164; Williams Schmidt, "Black Separatists Awaited; Militants, Police Greet Wrong Williams," *Detroit Free Press* 8 September 1969, DCCR.

[70] Michigan State Police, Complaint Report 19 January 1970, RIP; Michigan State Police Complaint Report, 22 January 1970, RIP; Michigan State Police Report 02 February 1970, RIP.

[71] FBI 011369; Detroit Police Department Memo, 25 February 1969, RIP; Michael Brogan, "Williams Quits as New Africa President," *Detroit News* 03 December 1969, 3A; SAC, Detroit to Director, FBI (100-448006), "Re: Bureau Letter to Detroit to Detroit, dated 12/3/68, and Detroit airtel to Bureau, dated 1/18/69," 6 February 1969, in RIP; SAC, Detroit to Director, FBI, "Re Detroit airtel to Bureau, dated 1/13/69, captioned above" in RIP; and Detroit Police Department, "Information From Special Investigation Bureau Source # [deleted], 02 December 1969, ROB Reel 21 Frame 979.

[72] Imari Obadele to Gaidi Obadele and Robert Williams, "My Resignation from the Cabinet," 21 November 1969, in ROB, Reel 4, Group 1, Series 1, Frames 503-505; Michigan State Police, "Additional Complaint Report," 13 November 1969, in RIP; Brogan, "Williams Quits"; Mary Kochiyama to Robert and Mabel Williams, 13 December 1969, ROB Reel 4, Group 1, Series 1, Frames 515-516. Recently, Muhammad Ahmad (Max Stanford), made the claim that Williams resigned because of the heavy presence of agents. Ahmad, "Revolutionary Action Movement/Republic of New Afrika," Art & Power in Movement, University of Massachusetts Amherst 20 November 2010.

[73] "The Republic of New Africa," RAM Series 5, Reel 6, Frame 693; Henry E. Wittenberg, "Imari's Faction Picks a New Temporary Leader," *Detroit News* 26 January 1970, in RIP; "Henry's Split is Denied," *Detroit News*, 24 January 1970, RIP; "Assassination, Bomb Scares Fizzle at RNA Convention," *Michigan Chronicle*, RIP; "Henry Brother's Rift Causes Split in RNA," *Detroit News* 16 November 1969, 1; Brother Imari to Gaidi Obadele and Robert Williams, 21 November 1969, ROB Reel 4, Group 1, Series 1, Frames 503-505; and Obadele, *Free the Land!*, 8-9. See also, Detroit Police Department memos in ROB Reel 21 Frames 977-1004.

[74] Kwame Osagyefo Kalimara & Chokwe Lumumba, "Chronological History of Constitutional Crisis in Provisional Government of Republic of New Afrika," 13 December 1980, courtesy of Chokwe Lumumba.

[75] Conversation with Chokwe Lumumba 26 March 2010; Osagyefo and Lumumba, "Chronological History," 1-2.

[76] According to FBI surveillance, Sister Shabazz resigned just prior to the New Bethel incident. Her role in the PG-RNA seemed more nominal in nature, and was meant to inspire more African American interest in the RNA. See Subject: Betty Shabazz" [FBI-Betty Shabazz], Bufile (105-71196) to NYfile (105-29845), 02 February 1969 http://vault.fbi.gov/betty-shabazz/betty-shabazz-part-02-of-03/view [viewed 19 September 2011], 113-118; and "Report of [deleted]" 16 March 1970 http://vault.fbi.gov/betty-shabazz/betty-shabazz-part-02-of-03/view [viewed 19 September 2011], 165.

[77] Fbi060570 Henry E. Wittenberg, "Imari's Faction Picks a New Temporary Leader," *Detroit News*, 26 January 1970, RIP; FBI Report, 30 July 1970, RIP; John Peterson, "Strife-Torn RNA Drafts Charter," *Detroit News* 25 January 1970, RIP; John Peterson, "Richard Henry Claims RNA Victory Over Milton," *Detroit News* 01 April 1970, RIP; Edward Shavahan, "Weary of Revolution: Separatist Joins Suburbia," Detroit *Free Press* 02 July 1970, in DCCR; Gaidi Obadele to New Afrikans, 19 January 1970, ROB Reel 10, Group 1, Series 4, Frame 158; and The Republic of New Africa, "Short Official Basic Documents"; Dunbar, "The Making of a Militant," 31; "RNA Moves HQ South," *Detroit Free Press* 06 April 1970, RIP; SAC, New Orleans (105-3138)(p*) to Director, FBI (100-448006), "Re: new Orleans Letter, 2/27/70," 26 May 1970, in RIP.

[78] Cedric Johnson, *Revolutionaries to Race Leaders: Black Power and the Making of African American Politics* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), esp. chapters 3-4.

[79] Conversation with Chokwe Lumumba 26 March 2010.

[80] Chokwe Lumumba.

[81] Chokwe Lumumba.

[82] Chokwe Lumumba.

[83] Imari Abubakari Obadele, "Clarifying the Current Provisional Government Controversy," n.d., 1, Chris and Marti Alston Collection [hereafter Alston], Box 6, Folder 15, Reuther. In an interview conducted by me, Lumumba agreed with Brother Imari's charge, but he disagreed with the motives, wisdom, and constitutional legality of the actions. Conversation with Chokwe Lumumba, 26 March 2010.

[84] On political taunting, see "Study Finds Congress Spends 27% of its Time Taunting," http://hereandnow.wbur.org/2011/04/21/congress-taunting (viewed 22 April 2011).

[85] Conversation with Chokwe Lumumba; Conversation with Akinyele Umoja 20 March 2010.

[86] Imari A. Obadele, 2, "Reparations Yes…," Alston, Box 6, Folder 16, Reuther.

[87] Audley A. Moore, "Why Reparations?: Money for Negroes," 1963, 11. On W.E.B. DuBois, see Reiland Rabaka, "W.E.B. Du Bois, Reparations, Radical Politics, and Critical Race Theory," in James L. Conyers, Jr., ed. *Radical Structure & Radical Politics in the African Diaspora* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009), 81-111.

[88] African Descendants Nationalist Independence Partition Party, "African Descendants Manifesto: Self-Determination and National Independence by 1973," 17.

[89] See Berry, *My Face is Black is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); James M. Davidson, "Encountering the Ex-Slave Reparations Movement from the Grave: The National Industrial Council and National Liberty Party, 1901-1907," *The Journal of African American History* 97, Nos. 1-2 (Winter-Spring 2012): 13-38; and Robin D.G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002), 110-134.

[90] Imari Abubakari Obadele, I, "Anti-Depression Program of the Republic of New Africa: To End Poverty, Dependence, Cultural Malnutrition, and Crime Among Black People in the United States and Promote Inter-Racial Peace" (March 1972), 1.

[91] Obadele, "Anti-Depression Program," 19.

[92] Dorothy Lewis, "Forty Acres Fifty Dollars and a Mule With Interest: Our Past Due Debt to African Americans Payable Upon Demand," n.d., Rashid Papers, 10-11.

[93] Lewis, "Forty Acres," 13-14.

[94] Reparations Now!: ANRO's Bi-Monthly News Organ, n.d. (c. 1984), Taifa Papers; Conversation with Nkechi Taifa, Esq. 08 February 2010.

[95] "Imari Obadele 'Father of Reparations' Dies in Ga.," Picayune Item http://www.picayuneitem.com/statenews/local_story_020163507.html (viewed 20 January 2010); and "N'COBRA Fact Sheet," n.d., Rashid Papers.

[96] Recent exceptions with regard to the BEDC include, Keith A. Dye, "Lessons In Hearing Humand and Divine Discontent: The Black Manifesto and Episcopal Leaders and Congregations in the Detroit Area," *The Journal of African American History* 97, Nos. 1-2 (Winter-Spring 2012): 72-91; and Elaine Allen Lechtreck, "'We Are Demanding $500 Million for Reparations': The Black Manifesto, Mainline Religious Denominations, and Black Economic Development," *The Journal of African American History* 97, Nos. 1-2 (Winter-Spring 2012): 39-71.

[97] "The Flag of Our Nation," n.d. (c. 1970), RIP [http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/davenport/rna-flyers1.pdf] viewed 09 September 2007.

[98] "CCAC" Leaflet, n.d. (c. 1967), RIP [http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/davenport/rna-flyers1.pdf] viewed 09 September 2007; V. Stoner to Mr. Marks 30 November 1967, Subject: Meeting CCAC 11-29-67, City of Detroit Inter-Office Correspondence, Box 18, Folder 23, Reuther; and Edward Vaughn, RED BLACK and GREEN: The History and Meaning of the Black Man's Flag (Detroit: Edward Vaughn & Associates, Publishers-Distributers, 1975).

By the early 1980s, some versions of the flag included a Phoenix placed at the center. The fiery bird, itself, gained frequent use in RNA periodicals such as the *New Afrikan Notes* and *The New Afrikan Journal*, two publications of the Malcolm X Party faction of the RNA during that era. See *New Afrikan Notes* 1, no. 2 (July 1981), 1; Imari Obadele, "Time to Play Our New Afrikan Card Part 3: Taking the First Step for Economic Empowerment," *The New Afrikan Journal: The Official Voice of the Malcolm X Party*, n.d., 4.

[99] See Stuart Hall, "The Problem of Ideology: Marxism Without Guarantees," David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1996), 26.

[100] Scholar Bibi Bakare-Yusuf defines diasporicity as a constant attribute at work within the daily activities and experiences, "which have been (actual or by association) 'rooted' in a place and which by being uprooted and re-routed to another place produce a sort of dispositioning and repositioning." To be sure, New Afrikans were

territorial nationalists who engaged "diasporicity" in the forming of their collective identity. RNA founders, considering themselves an African nation, viewed Africa as their original homeland. But temporal and spatial distance, relations with indigenous and European peoples, and forced labor in the United States caused them to accept the U.S. South as their new homeland and identity anchor. Anticipating the argument by Anthropologist Katharina Schramm (who built on claims and experiences of African American expatriate, Seestah Imakhüs Njinga Okofo), RNA founders developed the concept of the "new African" who, though of African descent, was a distinct manifestation of the diasporic experience. See Bibi Bakare-Yusuf, "Rethinking Diasporicity: Embodiment, Emotion, and the Displaced Origin," *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 1, no. 2 (October 2008): 147-148. Quote on 148; and Katharina Schramm, "Leaving Area Studies Behind: The Challenge of Diasporic Connections in the Field of African Studies," *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 1, no. 1 (January 2008): 1-12.

Finally, it should be noted that my use of "diasporic consciousness" does not preclude or interfere with their nationlist pronouncements and strategy. Instead, "diasporic consciousness" is used here as an analytical tool for New Afrikans conscious efforts to define the Black Nation in reference to other African and Diasporic nations. It is a feature of their brand of Black nationlism and their strategy for liberation. More details follow in this chapter and the next.

[101] The Republic of New Africa, "Declaration."

[102] RNA, "Declaration." The RNA conception of ending global oppression may seem to recall Trotsky's theory of "Permanent Revolution." Therein, he states that revolution cannot be confined to national struggles, that socialist revolution must have an international character. However, there is a long-standing tendency in African American thought to argue that no African person in the United States could be free until Africans all over the world were free. This argument was manifest in the overwhelming Black support of the Haitian revolution; it found resonance with David Walker and Maria Stewart, abolitionists and Black nationalists such as Frederick Douglass, Martin Delaney, and Alexander Crummell; Black club women and pan-Africanists of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century found ways to theorize about and act in accordance with the belief in a common oppression and therefore, liberation; and Garvey, the African Blood Brotherhood, and many more African-descended people in the twentieth century made similar claims. See, Leon Trotsky, The Permanent Revolution at http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1931/tpr/pr-index.htm (viewed 20 October 2011).

[103] RNA, "Declaration."

[104] Beverly Guy-Sheftall, *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 231-240; Deborah K. King, "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology," *Signs* 14, no. 1 (Autumn, 1988): 42-72; and Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations*, 1968-1980 (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005).

[105] See Cynthia A. Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of the U.S. Third World* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2006). A debate occurred in the 1970s around the idea of Black Americans being aligned with the Third World. Even as the PG-RNA, Congress of Afrikan People, and Black Panther Party began to consider themselves at the forefront of global revolution, Haki Madhubuti, Shawna Maglangbayan, and others detested that African Americans should consider themselves the "vanguard" of such a movement. Their reasoning included that African people had a history of being put on the frontlines of other people's struggles, without those people returning the favor for them. See, Haki R. Madhubuti, "The Latest Purge: The Attack on Black Nationalism and Pan-Afrikanism by the New Left, the Sons and Daughters of the Old Left," *Black Scholar* 6, no. 1 (September 1974): 43-56; and Shawna Maglangbayan, *Garvey, Lumumba and Malcolm: National-Separatists* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1972), 88.

[106] Laurent Dubois and John D. Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston & New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2006),

[107] James A. Geschwender and Judson L. Jeffries, "The League of Revolutionary Black Workers," *Black Power in the Belly of the Beast*, 151.

[108] Huey P. Newton, "Revolutionary Suicide," Series 1, Box 2, Folder 1, Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation Inc. Collection, M0864. Dept. of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif.

[109] The Republic of New Africa, "Short Official Basic Documents," 6.

[110] See for example, Huey P. Newton with the assistance of J. Herman Blake, *Revolutionary Suicide* (New York: Harcourt Bruce Jovanovich, 1973); Peniel E. Joseph, *Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour*; William W. Sales, Jr. *From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity* (Boston: South End Press, date); and William Van DeBurg, *New Day in Babylon*.

[111] "The New Afrikan Creed: Fundamental Precepts that Guide the New Afrikan Independence Movement," (New Orleans: Ukali Mwendo, n.d.); "Political and Philosophical Documents of the Independence Movement Which Guide the Work of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika," n.d. Personal Papers of General Kuratibisha X Ali Rashid [hereafter Rashid Papers]; Provisional Government Republic of New Afrika, "The Republic of New Afrika: Land Independence, Self-Determination," n.d., Personal Papers of Nkechi Taifa [hereafter Taifa Papers].

[112] See for example, Sister Nkechi Taifa, "The Spirit of Author McDuffie," *New Afrikan Journal: The Official Voice of the Malcolm X Party* (1980): 35.

[113] See "The Oath" n.d. Rashid Papers; and RNA, "Basic Documents," 3.

[114] "Message to Our Young Brothers and Sisters," RAM Reel 10, Frames 671-672.

[115] There has always been some tension about how advocates and opponents define "Black Power." See Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture) and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* Vintage Edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1992); Peniel E. Joseph, "The Black Power Movement: A State of the Field," The Journal of American History 96, no. 3 (December 2009): 751-776; Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967); William Van DeBurg, *New Day in Babylon*.

[116] Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide*, 118.

[117] Huey P. Newton, Letter "To the RNA," 13 September 1969, in Philip S. Foner, ed. The Black Panthers Speak First Da Capo Press pbk. ed. (New York: 1995), 72.

[118] Huey P. Newton, "Speech Delivered at Boston College: November 18, 1970," *To Die for the People: The Writings of Huey P. Newton* (New York: Random House, 1972), 20-38, quote on 33.

[119] See also, Safiya Bukhari, *The War Before: The True Life Story of Becoming a Black Panther, Keeping the Faith in Prison & Fighting for those Left Behind* (New York: The Feminist Press, 2010): 18-19; and Paul Karolczyk and Edward Onaci, Conversation with Bilal Sunni-Ali, 27 March 2010.

[120] Congress of African Peoples, "Republic of New Africa: Proposed Resolutions for Political Liberation Workshop," Howard University Moorland-Spingarn Research Center.

[121] For an explanation of ubuntu, see Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (New York: Doubleday,1999), 34-35.

[122] Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism: A Selection from Writings and Speeches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 2. For a theoretical explanation and critique of this concept, see Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 106-110.

[123] There exists an implied distinction between New Afrikans and Black Americans that is important to consider here briefly, because it follows in the tradition of African people in the United States trying to adequately define and

name themselves in ways that were empowering. Often, the attempt to provide African people with a group name took into consideration their history of being African, though with European and Native American ancestry. These names promoted full inclusion within the U.S. body politic. As will be explored in more detail in chapter four, New Afrikans participated in this practice, but framed their group name choice in a way that would allow them to become independent of U.S. nation-state and culture.

[124] The document's author (probably Brother Imari) discusses them as though a human being – a revolutionary sage – on a spiritual journey fraught with obstacles challenging that person's ability to stay on his or her chosen path. In his unpublished autobiography, Imari Obadele uses strikingly similar wording to describe his views on New Afrikans' dedication to liberation. See Obadele, *Seize the Land!*, 24

[125] *New African Ujamaa: The Economics of the Republic of New Africa* (San Francisco: Marcus Books of San Francisco, 1970), 1-2.

[126] *New African Ujamaa,* 7.

[127] The Republic of New Africa, "Government Administration," 18, n.d. MDAH Box 1, Series, Bay 1, Folder 1

[128] Ali Mazrui, "Tanzaphilia," *Transition*, no. 31 (June-July 1967): 20-26.

[129] See Charlie Cobb, *African Notebook: Views on Returning 'Home'* (Chicago: Institute of Positive Education, 1972); David Graham Du Bois, "Afro-American Militants in Africa," *Black World* 21 no. 4 (February 1972); Joyce Ladner, "Tanzanian Women and Nation Building," *The Black Scholar* 3 no. 4 (December 1972); Fanon Che Wilkins, "Black Power in the Belly of the Beast': Black Power, Anti-Imperialism, and the African Liberation Solidarity Movement, 1968-1975" PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2001.

[130] See for example, Kathleen Neal Cleaver, "Back to Africa": The Evolution of the International Section of the Black Panther Party (1969 – 1972)," in Charles E. Jones, ed *Black Panther Party: Reconsidered* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998), 211-254; Seth M. Markle, "'We Are Not Tourists': The Black Power Movement and the Making of Socialist Tanzania" (PhD Diss., New York University, 2011); Fanon Che Wilkins, "'In The Belly of the Beast': Black Power, Anti-Imperialism, and the African Liberation Solidarity Movement 1968-1975" (PhD diss., New York University, 2001), 59-116; Haki Madhubuti, after having an opportunity to speak with Nyerere, decided that instead of seeking independence, it was more fruitful to develop Black institutions in the United States that could then service African Americans and Africans in other countries. Conversation with Haki R. Madhubuti, 14 December 2010.

[131] Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, 3-4. Elsewhere, Nyerere claims that "it most certainly is wrong if we want the wealth and the power so that we can dominate somebody… [to do so] is completely foreign to us, and it is incompatible with the socialist society we want to build here" (6).

[132] Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, 4-5.

[133] Julius K. Nyerere, "From Uhuru to Ujamaa," *Africa Today* 21, no. 3 (Summer 1974): 3-8.

[134] Abdul Rahman Mohamed Babu, *African Socialism or Socialist Africa?* (London: Zed Press, 1981; Dar Es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1981), xv and 111.

[135] *The New African Ujamaa*, 13-14.

[136] "Government Administration," 32.

[137] Conversation with General Rashid 30 March 2009.

[138] Conversation with Elder Balogun Anderson 7 January 2010; see also Dan Berger and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, "'The Struggle is for the Land!' Race, Territory, and National Liberation," Dan Berger, ed. *The Hidden 1970s: Histories of Radicalism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 57-76

[139] Provisional Government-Republic of New Afrika, "The Code of Umoja" (3 November 2007)

[140] James Roberts, "Sovereignty," *The Internet Encyclopedia of International Relations*, http://www.towson.edu/polsci/irencyc/sovreign.htm (viewed 26 February 2010).

[141] The quoted text appeared as a byline in many of the RNA's publications. For example, see "Freedom: The Eight Strategic Elements, 1.

[142] RNA, "Forming," 3. Italics mine.

[143] Robert S. Browne, "A Case for Separation," in Robert S. Browne and Bayard Rustin, *Separatism or Integration: Which Way for America? – A Dialogue* (New York: A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 1960), 7-15; reprt., "A Case for Separatism," in Raymond Hall, ed. Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason (New York: Pergamon Press, 1977); Imari Abubakari Obadele, I, "Join Me in A People's Revolt Against Poverty, A People's Revolt for Power and An Up-Turn in the Black Condition: An Appeal and a Challenge from Imari Abubakari Obadele, I" (1977), 2.

[144] James H. Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608–1870* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978); and Rogers Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).

[145] Catherine A. Holland, *The Body Politic: Foundings, Citizenship, and Difference in the American Political Imagination* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001); Kettner, *The Development*, esp. chapter 10; David M. Ricci, *Good Citizenship in America* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Judith N Shklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1991); Smith, *Civic Ideals*, esp. chapter 9; and Michael Walzer, *What It Means to Be An American* (New York: Marsilo, 1992);

[146] Leslie M. Alexander, *African or American?: Black Identity and Political Activism in New York City, 1784-1861* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Kettner, *The Development*, 288-333; and Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 255-263.

[147] David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 132; Smith, *Civic Ideals*, chapter 9; Kettner, *The Development*, 324-333.

[148] See "The United States Constitution," U.S. Constitution Online http://www.usconstitution.net/const.html (viewed 29 November 2010).

[149] See Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in the United States: A Brief History* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1975).

[150] Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1988), 180-198; V.P. Franklin, *Black Self-Determination: A Cultural History of African-American Resistance* 2nd Edition (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1992), chapter 4.

[151] Cha-Jua, *America's First Black Town*; Rodney Carlisle, *The Roots of Black Nationalism* (Port Washington, New York and London: Kennikat Press, 1975); Theodore Draper, *The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism* (New York: Viking Press, 1970), 57-68, 132-147; Robin D.G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, 111-134; and Imari Abubakari Obadele, I, *Suggested Guidelines for the Land Development Cooperatives* (Washington, D.C.: The People's Revolt Against Poverty, n.d.), 20.

[152] Civil Rights Congress, *We Charge Genocide: The Historic Petition to the United Nations for Relief from A Crime of the United States Government Against the Negro People* (New York: International Publishers, 1951; reprint 1971); Mary Frances Berry, *My Face is Black is True* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*; and Rabaka, "W.E.B. Du Bois," 81-111.

[153] For documentation and firsthand accounts from the era, see Clayborne Carson, David J. Garrow, Gerald Gill, Vincent Harding, and Darlene Clark Hine, eds., *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader: Documents, Speeches, and Firsthand Accounts From the Black Freedom Struggle* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991. For historical analysis and critiques of the civil rights movement, see Belinda Robnett, *How Long? How Long?: African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Wesley C. Hogan, *Many Minds, One Heart: SNCC's Dream for a New America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Peniel E. Joseph, *Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour*; Doug McAdam, *Political Process*; and Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The Free Press, 1984).

[154] For example, Reparations and State of Israel as well as indigenous Alaskans. See Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, 113. According to legal scholar, Henry J. Richardson, III, African people in the United States have a tradition of utilizing international law in their struggles for liberation that began in the 17th century. See Henry J. Richardson, III, *The Origins of African-American Interests in International Law* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2008).

[155] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10 December 1948 http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr (viewed 25 August 2009).

[156] Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

[157] "United Nations Resolution 1514 (XV), Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/152/88/IMG/NR015288.pdf?OpenElement (viewed 25 August 2009). See also Imari A. Obadele, ed. *De-Colonization U.S.A.: The Independence Struggle of the Black Nation in the United States Centering on The 1996 United Nations Petition* (Baton Rouge, LA: The Malcolm X Generation, Inc., 1997), 36-37.

[158] "A Critic Who's Still a Citizen," *Detroit News* 1 May 1969, DCCR, Box 21, Folder 23, Reuther; and Chester Bulgier, "Full Oakland Circuit Bench to Mull Henry Citizenship," *Detroit News* 30 April 1969, DCCR Box 21, Folder 23, Reuther.

[159] Cops' Version of Gun Battle in Detroit Church Accepted," *Chicago Tribune* 09 April 1969, ProQuest Historical Newspapers Chicago Tribune (1849 – 1985), A3; "Policeman Killed in Detroit Battle: Clash at Church Follows Black Militant Meeting," New York Times 31 March 1969, ProQuest Historical Newspapers The New York Times (1851 – 2004), 1; "New Detroit to Probe Church Raid Charges," *Detroit News* (08 April 1969), 2A, 4A, RIP (viewed 24 February 2008); John Griffith, "Cavanaugh Defends Police Acts," *Free Press* (02 April 1969), RIP; Al Stark, "'Shot on the Floor': Bethel Raid Victim Talks," *Detroit News* 04 April 1969, 3A, RIP; and Lee Winfrey, "Police Tell of Shooting in Church," *Free Press* (09 April 1969), 1A, 8A, RIP. See also, the Detroit Police Commissioner's 24th District Reporter: Del Rio – Reports, New Detroit, Inc. Records [hereafter NDI], Box 188, Folder 27, Reuther.

[160] Paul R. Alker, "Republic of New Africa,"7 December 1971, SCRID# 13-25-5-99-13-1-1, Mississippi Sovereignty Commission Records [hereafter MSSCR], MDAH, http://www.mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=/data/sov_commission/images/png/cd09/072889.png&otherstuff=13|25|2|99|13|1|1|71955| (viewed 12 September 2009).

[161] "'Nation' Plans Sites in Miss.," Clarion Ledger 3 April 1970, 1, SF/Republic of New Africa 1970-1971, MDAH; and Alker, "Republic of New Africa," SCRID# 13-25-5-99-7-1-1, MSSCR, http://www.mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=/data/sov_commission/images/png/cd09/072882.png&otherstuff=13|25|2|99|7|1|1|71948| (viewed 12 September 2009).

[162] For examples of this surveillance, see Untitled Document, 4 August 1970, SCRID # 13-25-2-2-1-1-1, MSSCR, http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=/data/sov_commission/images/png/cd09/072639.png&otherstuff=13|25|2|2|1|1|1|71708| (viewed 11 May 2010); Director, Sovereignty Commission to The Honorable Herman Glasier, 5 August 1970, SCRID# 13-25-2-3-1-1-1, MSSCR, http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=/data/sov_commission/images/png/cd09/072640.png&otherstuff=13|25|2|3|1|1|1|71709| (viewed 11 May 2010); and Jack Smith to Chief J.D. Gardner, "Subjects Staying at Jackson Airport Travel Lodge," SCRID# 13-25-2-23-1-1-1, MSSCR, http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=/data/sov_commission/images/png/cd09/072685.png&otherstuff=13|25|2|23|1|1|1|71754| (viewed 11 May 2010).

[163] "Hearing Today for RNA Leader: Henry-Obadele Arrested in 1971 Shootout," *Times-Picayune* 2 April 1973, MDAH; "Sentence Meted to RNA Figure," *Times-Picayune* 3 April 1973, MDAH; Hollis Landrum, "RNA Member Pleads 'Guilty' to Assault: Shillingord Given 2 10-Year Sentences; Some of Time Cut," *Jackson Daily News* 19 January 1973, MDAH; Obadele, *Free the Land!*; The Republic of New Africa, "Mississippi… Old and New," 1971, MDAH, Republic of New Africa Series [hereafter RNA], Box 1, Folder 4; and Imari Abubakari Obadele, I, *President to President on the Question of Human Rights: Imari Abubakari, I President, The Republic of New Afrika – Named a Political Amnesty Prisoner by Amnesty International – Challenges U.S. President Jimmy Carter on Oppression of Blacks, Indians, & Others Genocide, Slave Labor in Prisons, Prisoner Exchange and The U.S. Silence on Vicious Anti-Black 'Cointelpro'* (Washington, D.C.: The Malcolmite Party, 16 July 1978).

[164] Chokwe Lumumba, "Short History of the U.S. War on the R.N.A.," *The Black Scholar* 12, no. 1 (January-February 1981): 75.

[165] "Interview with Safiya Bukhari," 27 September 1992, http://www.assatashakur.org/forum/carriers-torch/1784-interview-safiya-bukhari.html (viewed 5 March 2009); and Safiya Asya Bukhari, *Coming of Age*.

[166] Obadele, ed., *De-Colonization U.S.A.*, 38-39. Quote on page 39.

[167] Obadele, "Join Me in a People's Revolt," 7-8.

[168] Rashid, "The Military Story," Rashid Papers; Lumumba, 9-10.

[169] Ernest Dunbar, "The Making of a Militant," 25-32; Kalamu Ya Salaam, "We Are New Afrika," 62-71; and Sherrill, "Birth of a (Black) Nation."

[170] The Republic of New Afrika, "The New Afrikan Creed."

[171] Conversation with General Kuratibisha Ali X Rashid, 01 November 2009.

[172] Hamilton, "The Republic of New Africa," 64.

[173] Conversation with Bokeba Trice.

[174] "Government Administration," 17-18.

[175] "Government Administration," 18-20. If no consulate is established where one desired to become a citizen of record, that person could demonstrate to a PG official that they had educated themselves and then take the Oath before such an official. "Government Administration," 31.

[176] Diane C. Fujino, *Heartbeat of the Struggle: The Revolutionary Life of Yuri Kochiyama* (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), esp. chapter 6. The removal of the strict racial criterion confirms Communist Labor Party author, Nelson Peery's, argument that nations forced into being because of imperialism compels peoples to form solidarity although they might not see any other common interest between them. See Peery, *The National Negro Question* 2nd Edition (Chicago: Workers Press, 1978), 102.

[177] Obadele, *Free the Land!*, Conversation with Nkechi Taifa.

[178] The Republic of New Afrika, Forming Municipal, 2; and "Municipal Councils?," New Afrikan Brief: A Newsletter from the Black Nation (March 1976), 2, MDAH, RNA, Box 1, Series 2, Bay 1, Folder 2.

[179] For biographical information on Chokwe Lumumba, Esq., see Chokwe Lumumba, ed. "Selective Writings by and about Chokwe Lumumba," unpublished, n.d. in possession of the author; The Office of Chokwe Lumumba, Esq., "Biographical Sketch of Chokwe Lumumba," http://www.law.howard.edu/dictator/media/220/BIOGRAPHICAL_OF_CHOKWE_LUMUMBA.doc (viewed 30 August 2009); "Human Rights Defender Chokwe Lumumba," Frontline: Protector of Human Rights Defenders http:www.frontlinedefenders.org/node/488 (viewed 30 August 2009). For information about Lumumba's current work, see "Runoffs Provide Decisive Wins," Jackson *Free Press* 20 May 2009, http://www.jacksonfreepress.com/index.php/site/comments/runoffs_provide_decisive_wins_052009/ (viewed 30 August 2009); and Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, "Chokwe Lumumba's Election Victory,"8 July 2009 http://mxgm.org/web/political/chokwe-lumumba-july-campaign-update.html (viewed 30 August 2009).

[180] For early RNA strategy, see Imari Abubakari Obadele, *War in America*; Imari Abubakari Obadele, I, *Revolution and Nation Building*; and Robert Sherrill, "Birth of a (Black) Nation," Esquire: The Magazine for Men 71, no. 1 (January 1969), 71-75, 176-178. At the time of this writing, Lumumba is preparing to run for the mayoral office.

[181] Obadele, ed. *De-Colonization*, 59. Italics mine.

[182] Conversation with Sekou Owusu, 08 September 2009.

[183] Conversation with Owusu.

[184] Conversation with Owusu.

[185] Participant observer, 29 March 2009.

[186] Conversation with Brother_D.B. Aammaa Nubyahn 20 September 2009.

[187] Holland, Fox, and Daro, "Social Movements and Collective Identity: A Decentered, Dialogic View," *Sociological Quarterly*, 81 no. 1 (Winter 2008): 106.

[188] David Smith, "Norman Confers with Attorneys," Jackson Daily News, 29 April 1972, 1, 8; George Whittington, "RNA Defense Uses Last Jury Challenge," *Clarion Ledger* 25 April 1972, 1-2.

[189] George Whittington, "Second RNA Trial Scheduled for July 17," *Clarion Ledger*, 7 July 1972, MDAH.

[190] "Whites Seek Funds for RNA Citizens' Defense," *Michigan Chronicle* 21 June 1969, DCCR Box 21, Folder 23.

[191] Lauren L. Basson, *White Enough to Be American?: Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Shklar, *American Citizenship*.

[192] PG-RNA, "The Code of Umoja," 10-11.

[193] For example, see *Reparations Yes!*; The Republic of New Afrika, "Forming Municipal"; and PG-RNA, *A People's Struggle: An Analytical Outline of the Struggle of Afrikans in North America*, Taifa Papers, (Washington, D.C., 1986).

[194] "Sovereignty for Native Americans," *New Afrikan Journal* (c1980), 19. See also, "Free Leonard Peltier," *The New Afrikan* Journal Special Edition (1980), 20-21.

[195] The Republic of New Afrika, *Black Nation Day Commemorative Journal*, n.d.

[196] "Free Puerto Rico!" *The New Afrikan Journal* (c1982), 20, 31; "Puerto Rican Liberation," *The New Afrikan Journal* Special Edition (1980), 21; "Re: The Puerto Rico Struggle," *The New Afrikan* 6, no. 2 (25 December 1976), 9-10.

[197] Sheila S. Walker, "What's in A Name?: Black Awareness Keeps the African Tradition of 'Meaningful Names' Alive," *Ebony* 32, no. 7 (June 1977), 78.

[198] Conversation with Richard Bokeba Trice, 08 February 2012. Ukali Mwendo also informed this description of the naming ceremony. Conversation with Ukali Mwendo, 04 February 2012.

[199] The term "cognitive liberation" is adapted from Doug McAdam who defines it as "the transformation from hopeless submission to oppressive conditions to an aroused readiness to challenge those conditions." See Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago & London, The University of Chicago Press, 1982, 34).

[200] E.U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: A Search for An Identity in America* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 203.

[201] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 55.

[202] Leonard, R.N. Ashley, "Changing Times and Changing Names: Reasons, Regulations, and Rights," *Names* 19 (1971): 167-187; Catherine Cameron, *The Name Givers* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1983); Frank Nuessel, *The Study of Names: A Guide to the Principles and Topics* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1992); and Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming: A Social and Cultural History of Personal Naming in Western Europe* (London: UCL Press, 1998).

[203] Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 50-52; Cheryl Ann Cody, "Naming, Kinship, and Estate Dispersal: Notes on Slave Family on a South Carolina Plantation, 1786 to 1833," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series 39, no. 1, "The Family in Early American Culture," (January 1982): 192-211; Newbell Niles Puckett, "Names of American Negro Slaves," in George Peter Murock, ed., *Studies in the Science of Society* (1937; repr. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), 471-494; Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 54-58; Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Ideology and the Foundation of Black America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), **pages**; and Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 181-186.

[204] Syed Malik Khatib, "Personal Names and Name Changes," Journal of Black Studies 25, no. 3 (January 1995): 349-353; Pauline C. Pharr, "Onomastic Divergence: A Study of Given-Name Trends Among African Americans," *American Speech* 68, no. 4 (Winter 1993): 400-409; and N.N. Puckett, "American Negro Names" *Journal of Negro History* 23, no. 1 (January 1938): 35-48; and Newbell Niles Puckett, *Black Names in America: Origins and Usage*, edited by Murray Heller (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1975).

[205] J.L. Dillard, *Black Names* (Paris: Mouton & Co., Publishers, The Hague, 1976); and P. Robert Paustian, "The Evolution of Personal Naming Practices Among American Blacks," *Names* 26, no. 2 (June 1978): 177-191.

[206] Obiagele Lake, as she argues for African Americans to reject European values and cultural norms, includes a brief explanation of the importance of Black nationalist and Black Power organizations' emphasis on shedding slave names. Scot Brown also briefly discusses the politics of naming for the US Organization. See Scot Brown, *Fighting for US: Maulana Karenga, the US Organization, and Black Cultural Nationalism* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), especially chapter three; and Obiagele Lake, *Blue Veins and Kinky Hair: Naming and Color Consciousness in African America* (Westport, Conn. and London: Praeger Publishers, 2003), especially chapter one.

[207] Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 54.

[208] Cameron, *The Name Givers*, 1-2, 42-48; and Fairchild, "Black, Negro, or Afro-American?," 48.

[209] Puckett, "Names of American Negro Slaves," 484; Stuckey, *Slave Culture*, 195-199, quote on 198; and Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority*, 181-186. For a first-hand account of this process, see Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Life of Olaudah Equiano, Written by Himself with Related Documents*, Robert J. Allison, ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

[210] Berlin, *Slave Without Master*, 51; Stuckey, *Slave Culture*; Lake, *Blue Veins*.

[211] Dillard, *Black Names*, 22-29.

[212] Michael A. Gomez discusses the complexity of African acculturation within the plantation system. What is missing from this body of literature is a fuller discussion of the names, including the religious importance of names (e.g. for Africans who practiced Islam). See Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Out Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Michael A. Gomez, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African American Muslims in the Americas* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[213] Malcolm X, *The Autobiography*, 152. Malcolm surprisingly forgot his prison numbers, possibly intentionally. His forgetfulness seems to suggest disgust with having his personal existence replaced with anonymity. Besides, it would only make sense for one who had evolved from a hustler to Muhammad's top minister, some sort of spiritual purification would have taken place, erasing that psychologically damaging part of his memory.

[214] Elijah Muhammad, *Message to the Blackman in America* (Chicago: Mosque of Islam No. 2, 1965), 54.

[215] Malcolm X, *The Autobiography*, 199.

[216] Karl Evanzz, *The Judas Factor: The Plot to Kill Malcolm X* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1992), 12-14; Malcolm X, *The Autobiography*, 28-29 and 343-363.

[217] For example, Proverbs 22:1 states, "A good name is more desirable than great riches; to be esteemed is better than silver or gold," (NIV). A popular example of Biblical figures undergoing a name change to symbolize their acceptance of their perceived purpose is Saul of Tarsus who became Paul. See Acts 13:9. Following similar logic, Isabella, an enslaved woman in New York, became Sojourner Truth after her escape. See Olive Gilbert, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* (Champaign: Project Gutenberg, 2000).

[218] Muhammad, *Message*, 34-35, 41-43, and 54-55.

[219] Interestingly, it was customary for people to maintain their first names, even if they had European origins. E.U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: A Search for An Identity in America* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), 203-205; and Eric C. Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America*, 3rd Edition (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eardmans Publishing Company; Trenton: African World Press, Inc., 1994), 105. See also, Clifton E. Marsh, *The Lost-Found Nation of Islam* (Lanham, Maryland and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2000), 40. Interestingly, in their attempts to undermine the centuries of oppression written in their signatures, many NOI members used their slave names when handling such business as signing checks.

[220] Malcolm X, *The Autobiography*, 162.

[221] William E. Cross, Jr., "Toward a Psychology of Black Liberation," 18-21; and Beverly J. Vandiver, Peony E. Fhagen-Smith, Kevin O. Cokley, William E. Cross, Jr. and Frank C. Worrell, "Cross's Nigrescence Model: From Theory to Scale to Theory," *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* 29, no. 3 (July 2001): 174-200.

[222] "Black Names," *Newsweek* 29 July 1968, 88.

[223] Ayi Kwei Armah, *Two Thousand Seasons* (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1973), 130-131. See also, Nigerian singer Fela Kuti's, "Upside Down" and "Mr. Grammartologynationalism is the Boss"

[224] For Stokely Carmichael/Kwame Ture's arguments concerning Black identity, see Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture), *Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 2007), 175-220; Stokely Carmichael, "Pan-Africanmism – Land and Power," *Black Scholar* 1, no. 1 (November 1969): 36. In his autobiography, Carmichael/Ture never stated exactly when he took on his Afrikan name, nor did he state why he chose the variant of "Ture." Stokely Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, *Ready For Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)* (New York: Scribner, 2003), 627-628

[225] The basis for New Afrikans' distinction from other nations may be found in various documents written by RNA theoreticians and intellectuals with whom they consorted and exchanged ideas. See, for example, Robert S. Browne, "A Case for Separation," in Robert S. Browne and Bayard Rustin, *Separatism or Integration: Which Way for America? – A Dialogue* (New York: A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 1960), 7-15; reprt., "A Case for Separatism," in Raymond Hall, ed. Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason (New York: Pergamon Press, 1977); Queen Mother Audley Moore, *Why Reparations?: "Money for Negroes: Reparations if the Battle Cry for the Economic and Social Freedom of More Than 25 Million Descendants of American Slaves."* 1963; Obadele, *Revolution and Nation Building*, 18-30; and The Republic of New Africa, *Short Official Basic Documents*.

[226] See Richards; and Brother Gaidi Obadele to RNA Citizens, 19 January 1970, ROB G1 S4 R10 F158.

[227] The Republic of New Africa, "Adult Application for the R.N.A," The Papers of General Kuratibisha Ali X Rashid [hereafter Rashid Papers].

[228] Conversation with Herman and Iyaluua Ferguson, 19 June 2010. Baba Oserjiman Adefunmi, was an influential priest in the Yoruba tradition, an author, the Prime Minster of the Harlem Peoples Parliament, and also the first Minister of Culture of the PG-RNA. Sometime after he helped co-found the PG, he moved to South Carolina where he created the Olatunji Village. Conversation with Bilal Sunni-Ali 27 March 2010; and www.**oyotunji**african**village**.org/ (viewed 30 November 2010).

[229] Conversation with Herman and Iyaluua Ferguson, 19 June 2010.

[230] See Maulana Karenga, *The Quotable Karenga*, Clyde Halisi and James Mtume, eds. (Los Angeles: US Organization, 1967), 4. See also, Brown, *Fighting for US*, 23 and 107-130.

[231] David Hilliard and Lewis Cole, *This Side of Glory: The Autobiography of David Hilliard and the Story of the Black Panther Party* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1993), 163. Emphasis mine.

[232] Hilliard and Cole, *This Side of Glory*, 169.

[233] See Larry Watani Stiner and Scot Brown, "The US-Panther Conflict, Exile, and the Black Diaspora: The Plight of Larry Watani Stiner," *Journal of African American History* 92, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 540-552.

[234] See Angela Y Davis, "Art on the Frontline: Mandate for a People's Culture," Joy James, ed. *The Angela Y. Davis Reader* (Oxford, 1998), 236-247; for other assessments of black artists' role in liberatory movements, see Robert Chrisman, "The Formation of a Revolutionary Black Culture," *Black Scholar* 1, no. 8 (June 1970): 2-9; W.E.B. Du Bois, "Criteria of Negro Art," David Leering Davis, ed. *The Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader* (New York, 1994), 100-105; Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," *Nation* 122, no. 3181 (June 23, 1926): 692-694; Catherine A. John, "Complicity, Revolution, and Black Female Writing," *Race &* Class 40, no. 4 (1999); Lisa Gail Collins and Margo Natalie Crawford, eds. *New Thoughts on the Black Arts Movement* (New Brunswick, 2006); Larry Neal, "Black Art and Black Liberation," *Black Revolution: An Ebony Special Issue* (1969; repr., Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), 30-53; David Lionel Smith, "What is Black Culture?," Wahneema Lubiano, ed. *The House That Race Built: Black Americans, U.S. Terrain* (New York, 1997), 178-194; Richard Wright, "Blueprint for Negro Writing," Davis, *The Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*, 194-205; and

Kalamu ya Salaam, "African American Cultural Empowerment: A Struggle to Identify and Institutionalize Ourselves As a People," Moreno Vega and Cheryll Y. Greene, eds. *Voices From the Battlefront: Achieving Cultural Equity* (Trenton, 1993), 119-134.

[235] Conversation with Herman and Iyaluua Ferguson. Interestingly, Mama Iyaluua mentions that Queen Mother Moore was also given the name Iyaluua. The idea of meeting some unspecified criteria before taking an Afrikan name provokes several questions. First, for a people whose names were taken as part of a larger assault against their humanity, why did Baba Herman not consider taking an Afrikan name as a human right for those who chose to undergo that process? Next, several people – including many New Afrikans – gave their children Afrikan names. Should an organizational standard or criteria be imposed on children before their parents can give them the Afrikan name of their choosing? Also, there were many New Afrikans who, like Baba Herman and Audley Moore, maintained their slave names in everyday use and within their political circles. Were they less dedicated to liberation struggle because they had not taken on Afrikan names? It is not likely that requiring people to fulfill certain expectations before they could use an Afrikan name would have enhanced efforts for Black liberation. There were many informants who gained the trust of Black liberation activists through years of seeming dedication to the struggle. Many of them were only revealed as agents and informants after they supplied important information about the groups and individuals whom were the targets of state repression. Conversation with Akinyele Umoja 20 March 2010.

[236] Conversation with Dr. Melanie Njeri Jackson, 18 October 2009.

[237] Bokeba conversation.

[238] Conversation with Dr. Marilyn Killingham, 03 November 2009.

[239] Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* new ed. (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996)

[240] Queen Mother Moore, one of the most respected icons of Black liberation, never appeared to take on her given Afrikan name, Iyaluua. Conversation with Herman and Iyaluua Ferguson.

[241] As literary scholar, Margo Natalie Crawford mentions, Black women were often expected to mothers "first and foremost." However, many women fought against such ideas, and even gained many male allies. See Margo Natalie Crawford, "Must Revolution Be a Family Affair?: *Revisiting* the Black Woman," in Dayo F. Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard, eds. *Want to Start a Revolution?: Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2009), 185-204; and Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968-1980* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005).

[242] Assata Shakur, *Assata: An Autobiography* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1987), 184-185.

[243] John Henrik Clarke, "African Warrior Queens," in Ivan Van Sertima, ed. *Black Women in Antiquity* New Edition (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1998), 123-134.

[244] Conversation with Baba Hannibal Tirus Afrik 29 March 2009.

[245] Conversation with Chokwe Lumumba 28 March 2010.

[246] James H. Meriwether, *Proudly We can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 224-240.

[247] Shakur, *Assata*, 185; and Lynn Clayton, "What's In A Name," *Essence* 9, no. 2 (June 1978): 48-49.

[248] In Yoruba, the meaning is "Respected at home." or Oriki for 'We are honored at home'

[249] Shakur, *Assata*, 184-185. Like the name, Shakur did not seem to feel connected with her New Afrikan citizenship when she first signed up.

[250] Shakur, *Assata*, 186.

[251] Conversation with Richard Bokeba Trice, 02 March 2010.

[252] Conversation with Michael Balogun Anderson, 07 January 2010.

[253] Conversation with Balogun.

[254] The role and practice of people like Oserjiman Adefunmi deserves more critical inquiry. What exactly took place during a reading? Were they all similar to the one Assata Shakur described in her autobiography? Did those giving readings require some background information so that they could best determine what name would fit each person?

[255] Conversation with Baba Hannibal Tirus Afrik

[256] Conversation with Nkechi Taifa, Esq.

[257] Ernest Allen, Jr., "Making the Strong Survive: The Contours and Contradictions of Message Rap," in *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip hop Culture*, ed. William Eric Perkins (Philadelphia, 1996), 159-181; Michael Muhammad Knight, *The Five Percenters: Islam, Hip Hop and the Gods of New York* (Oxford, 2007); Felicia Miyakawa, *Five Percenter Rap: God Hop's Music, Message, and Black Muslim Mission* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2005); Edward Onaci, "'I Can Be Your Sun, You Can Be My Earth,': Masculinity, Hip Hop, and the Nation of Gods and Earths," in Derrick Alridge and James Turner, eds. *Message in the Music: Hip Hop, History, and Pedagogy* (Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of African American Life and History Press, forthcoming); Juan Floyd-Thomas, "A Jihad of Words: The Evolution of African American Islam and Contemporary Hip Hop" in *Noise and Spirit: The Religious and Spiritual Sensibilities of Rap Music*, ed. Anthony B. Pinn (New York and London, 2003).

[258] Conversation with Dr. Akinyele Umoja 20 March 2010

[259] Bettye Collier Thomas and James Turner, "Race, Class, and Color: The African American Discourse on Identity," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14, no. 1 (Fall, 1994): 5-31. See also, Stuckey, *Slave Culture*, 198-244.

[260] Collier-Thomas and Turner, "Race, Class, and Color," 18.

[261] Richard B. Moore, *Richard B. Moore, Caribbean Militant in Harlem: Collected Writings, 1920-1972*, eds. W. Burghardt Turner and Joyce Moore Turner (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press/London: Pluto Press, 1988), 223-239, quotes on 231 & 233.

[262] Elijah Muhammad, *Supreme Wisdom: Solution to the So-Called Negroes Problem* (Newport News & Hampton, VA: National Newport News and Commentator), 16-18.

[263] Malcolm X, "The Black Revolution," Imam Benjamin Karim, http://www.malcolmxonline.com/speeches-black-revolution.html (viewed 14 April 2008).

[264] Malcolm X, "The Black Revolution."

[265] Review publications such as *Negro Digest/Black World, Freedomways*, etc. Compare and contrast with other Africans, including Cabral, Nkrumah, Fanon, etc. Lorraine Hansberry, James Baldwin, LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka. When did GOAL and Henrys stop using "Negro."

[266] "Malcolm X, Speech to African Summit Conference – Cario, Egypt," in John Henrik Clarke, ed. *Malcolm X: the Man and His Times* (CITY: Collier Books, 1969), 288-293, quote on page 288; Books Muhammad Ahmad, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*, 26-33.

[267] See for example, *The Quotable Karenga*, 1.

[268] Chokwe Lumumba, *The Roots of the New Afrikan Independence Movement: A Response to the Inaccurate and Politically Immature Attacks on the New Afrikan Independence Movement by the African People's Socialist Party* (Jackson, MS: New Afrikan Productions, n.d.), 5-8; and McDuffie, "'I Wanted a Communist Philosophy," 185-186.

[269] Conversation with Bilal Sunni-Ali.

[270] See, for example, Provisional Government-Republic of New Afrika, *The Code of Umoja*, 2007

[271] Brother Imari (Imari Abubakari, I), *Revolution and Nation Building: Strategy for Building the Black Nation in America* (Detroit: The House of Songhay, Publishers, 1970), 9 & 65; Imari Abubakari Obadele, *Seize the Land!: The Autobiography of the Primary Apostle of Malcolm X Detailing How the Foundations Were Laid for A Black Struggle for Independent Land in the United States*, c1971 (unpublished document in author's possession courtesy of Nkechi Taifa), 35, 47 – house niggers; Imari Abubakari Obadele, *Free the Land!: The True Story of the Trials of the RNA-11 in Mississippi and the Continuing Struggle to Establish an Independent Black Nation in the Five States of the Deep South* (Washington, D.C.: The House of Songhay, 1984), 25.

[272] Adhama Oluwa Kijembe, "Swahili and Black Americans," *Negro Digest* 18, no. 9 (July 1969): 4-8.

[273] Conversation with Bokeba Trice.

[274] Imari Abubakari Obadele, *Foundations of the Black Nation* (Detroit: House of Songhay, 1975).

[275] Pharr, "Onomastic Divergence" 405-407.

[276] Gerald N.J. Marwell, III and Michael Aiken, "1960s Civil Rights Activists Turn Forty: Generational Unit at Mid-Life," Philo C. Wasburn, ed. *Research in Political Sociology*, Vol. 6 (1993): 175-195; Nella Van Dyke, Doug McAdam, and Brenda Wilhelm, "Gendered Outcomes: Gender Differences in the Biographical Consequences of Activism" *Mobilization: An International Journal* 5, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 161-177; Darren E. Sherkat and T. Jean Blocker, "Explaining the Political and Personal Consequences of Protest," 75, no. 3 (March 1997): 1049-1076; Brenda Wilhelm, "Changes in Cohabitation Across Cohorts: The Influence of Political Activism" *Social Forces* 77, no. 1 (September, 1998): 289-310.

[277] Sherkat and Blocker, "Explaining the Political," 1051-1053.

[278] Two exceptions are Sherkat and Blocker, "Explaining the Political"; and Jack Whalen and Richard Flacks, *Beyond the Barricades: The Sixties Generation Grows Up* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

[279] Tracye Matthews, "No One Ever Asks What A Man's Place in the Revolution Is," in Charles Jones ed. *Black Panther Party [Reconsidered]* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998), 265-304; and Robyn Ceanne Spencer, "Engendering the Black Freedom Struggle: Revolutionary Black Womanhood and the Black Panther Party in the Bay Area, California," *Journal of Women's History* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008):90-113.

[280] Conversation with Marilyn Preston Killingham, 03 November 2009

[281] Conversation with Khalil Mustafa, 11 October 2009. For more information on the desegregation case, see http://openjurist.org/288/f2d/600/taylor-v-board-of-education-of-city-school-district-of-city-of-new-rochelle.

[282] Conversation with Baba Khalil.

[283] Conversation with Bilal Sunni-Ali, 27 March 2010.

[284] For local battles with school segregation, see Adrian Back, "Exposing the 'Whole Segregation Myth': The Harlem Nine and New York City's School Desegregation Battles," Theoharis and Woodard, *Freedom North*, 65-91; Ferguson, *An Unlikely Warrior*; and Jeanne F. Theoharis, "'I'd Rather Go to School in the South,' How Boston's School Desegregation Complicates the Civil Rights Paradigm," Theoharis and Woodard, *Freedom North*, 125-151.

[285] Conversation with Dr. Njeri Melanie Jackson, 17 October 2009.

[286] Conversation with Dr. Jackson.

[287] Conversation with Dr. Jackson.

[288] Conversation with Dr. Jackson.

[289] Conversation with Richard Bokeba Trice 02 March 2010.

[290] Conversation with Bokeba Trice.

[291] Conversation with Sekou Owusu

[292] Notable members of this "family" are Afeni Shakur, Assata Shakur, Lumumba Shakur, and Mutulu Shakur.

[293] Conversation with Bilal Sunni-Ali.

[294] Conversation with Bilal Sunni-Ali.

[295] Conversation with Marilyn Preston Killingham.

[296] Conversation with Herman and Iyaluua Ferguson, 19 June 2010.

[297] Conversation with Sekou Owusu; and Conversation with Nkechi Taifa.

[298] Conversation with Khalil Mustafa. Black nationalists and community organizers gained significant attention in New York City on 15 February 1961, when they participated in demonstrations at the United Nations following Lumumba's assassination. See, Joseph, *Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour*, 38-44; and Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans*, 229-240. For the Nation of Gods and Earths, see "'I Can Be Your Sun, You Can Be My Earth': Masculinity, Hip Hop, and the Nation of Gods and Earths," in Derrick P. Alridge, James B. Stewart, and V.P. Franklin, eds. *Message in the Music: Hip Hop History & Pedagogy* (Washington, D.C.: The ASALH Press, 2010), 131-151.

[299] Chana Kai Lee, *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Timothy Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams & the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999); and Robert F. Williams, *Negroes with Guns* (New York: Marzani & Munsell, c1962).

[300] Conversation with Bokeba.

[301] Douglas S. Massey, *American Apartheid Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008).

[302] Conversation with Marilyn Preston Killingham.

[303] Conversation with Herman and Iyaluua Ferguson.

[304] Conversation with Herman and Iyaluua Ferguson.

[305] Conversation with Khalil Mustafa.

[306] Conversation with Khalil Mustafa.

[307] Conversation with Herman and Iyaluua Ferguson.

[308] Conversation with Baba Hannibal.

[309] See Charles M. Payne *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

[310] Conversation with Sekou Owusu.

[311] Conversation with Marilyn Killingham.

[312] Conversation with Marilyn Killingham.

[313] Conversation with Elder Balogun.

[314] Conversation with Nkechi Taifa

[315] Conversation with Sekou Owusu.

[316] Conversation with Sekou Owusu.

[317] William F. Buckley, *Firing Line* (originally aired November 18, 1968)

[318] New Afrikan Oath.

[319] Baba Hannibal never specified the city or cities to which he was sent. Rebellions took place in Baltimore, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and many other places. He was living in Chicago during that time, so it is possible that he was involved with helping quell the rebellions there.

[320] "Contempt Ruling In A Brink's Case," *The New York Times* www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic [Accessed on June 19, 2012]; The Provisional Government, Republic of New Afrika, "RNA Lawyer Battles Contempt, 28 October 1983, Taifa Papers.

[321] Conversation with Balogun Anderson, 7 January 2010.

[322] Conversation with Nkechi Taifa.

[323] Conversation with Bokeba Trice.

[324] Conversation with Marilyn Killingham.

[325] For example, see Floyd W. Hayes III and Judson L. Jeffries, "Us Does Not Stand for United Slaves!" in Jeffries, ed. *Black Power in the Belly of the Beast*, 82-85; Matthews, "No One Ever Asks What A Man's Place in the Revolution Is"; Spencer, "Engendering the Black Freedom Struggle," 90-113; and Ula Taylor, "Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam: Separatism, Regendering, and a Secular Approach to Black Power after Malcolm X (1965-1975)," *Freedom North*, 190-194.

[326] Milton R. Henry, "An Independent Black Republic in North America," in Raymond L. Hall, ed. *Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason* (New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1977), 33; Obadele, *Free the Land*, 110-111.

[327] Jasmine Guy, *Afeni Shakur: Evolution of A Revolutionary* (New York: Atria Books, 2004), 70-72, 104-111, 126.

[328] Conversation with General Rashid.

[329] Conversation with General Rashid.

[330] See for example, Toni Cade Bambara, ed. *The Black Woman: An Anthology* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1970); Frances Beale, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," in Beverly Guy-Sheftall, ed. *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought* (New York: The *Free Press*, 1995), 146-161; Linda La Rue, "The Black Movement and Women's Liberation," *Words of Fire*, 164-173; E. Francis White, Africa On My Mind: Gender, Counter Discourse, and African-American Nationalism," *Journal of Women's History* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 73-97.

[331] La Rue, "The Black Movement," 167.

[332] Conversation with General Rashid, 29 March 2010.

[333] Conversation with Baba Hannibal Afrik.

[334] Conversation with Sekou Owusu. Emphasis added to match Owusu's verbal emphasis.

[335] Conversation with Sekou Owusu.

[336] Conversation with Bokeba Trice.

[337] Conversation with Dr. Marilyn Killingham; Conversation with Nkechi Taifa.

[338] Conversation with Elder Balogun Anderson.

[339] Republic of New Africa, *Basic Documents*.

[340] See, for example, Obadele, *Free the Land*; and Imari Abubakari Obadele, *Foundations of the Black Nation* (Detroit, 1975).

[341] Conversation with Sekou Owusu.

[342] Conversation with Herman and Iyaluua Ferguson; and Conversation with Dr. Njeri Jackson.

[343] Conversation with Bokeba Trice.

[344] Conversation with Balogun Anderson.

[345] John Bracey, "Revolutionary Action Movement/Republic of New Afrika," Art & Power in Movement 20 November 2010.

[346] Paul Karolczyk and Edward Onaci, Conversation with Akinyele Umoja, 27 March 2010.

[347] Imari Obadele, *Revolution and Nation Building*, 12.

[348] Chokwe Lumumba, *The Roots of the New Afrikan Independence Movement*, 12.

[349]Nkechi Taifa, Untitled Poem, *The New Afrikan Journal: The Official Voice of the Malcolm X Party* (1977, repr. 1980), 19.

[350] Scott Ettman, "When Revolutions Fail, There's Always Prison," *Chronogram: Arts, Culture, Spirit* 30 October 2009, http://www.chronogram.com/issue/2009/11/Arts+&+Culture/When-Revolutions-Fail-There-s-Always-Prison (viewed 06 May 2010).

[351] Geronimo ji Jaga, "Every Nation Struggling to Be Free Has a Right to Struggle, a Duty to Struggle," *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party*, 71.

[352] "Fighting For Freedom Is Not A Crime," n.d., General Rashid Papers

[353] Jill Nelson, "Terror By Association: The Case of Cynthia Boston," n.d. Nkechi Taifa Papers, 34.

[354] The Republic of New Afrika, "Statement by the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika Regarding the Arrest of Fulani Sunni Ali, Chair Woman of the Peoples Center Council of the Republic of New Afrika," 2 November 1981, 1, Nkechi Taifa Papers.

[355] "Case Against Fulani Ali Collapses," *The Mississippi Enterprise: A Positive New Service for Mississippi and the Nation*, 14 November 1981, 1 & 4;"Grand Jury Jails Leftists for Silence," *Guardian* 16 December 1981, 7, Nkechi Taifa Papers; The Republic of New Afrika, "Louis Farrakhan, Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston) & Chokwe Lumumba to Speak at Rally for Freedom Fighters," Alston Box 6, Folder 15; and Nancy Wechsler, "Activists Jailed for Refusing To Cooperate with Grand Jury," *Gay Community News*, December 26, 1981, 3 http://www.proquest.com/ (accessed January 19, 2012).

[356] Dorothy Holland, Gretchen Fox and Vinci Daro, "Social Movements and Collective Identity: A Decentered Dialogic View" *Sociological Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 106

[357] Geronimo ji Jaga, "Every Nation Struggling to Be Free Has a Right to Struggle, a Duty to Struggle," *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party*, 71.

[358] Admittedly, this chapter is far from complete. It requires more analysis of government documents, which I requested over one year ago, but still have not received.

[359] Rondee Gaines, "'An African Nation in the Western Hemisphere': New Afrikan Identities, Lifestyles, and Contributions to the International Struggle for Self-Determination and Independence," (Bi-Annual Meeting of the Association For the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora, November 5, 2011).

[360] Despite the recent critiques of using newspaper articles in research on governmental repression against dissidents, periodicals and other forms of print media are quite helpful in helping reconstruct the past. See Christian Davenport, *Media Bias, Perspective, and State Repression: The Black Panther Party* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[361] Alan Wolfe, *The Seamy Side of Democracy: Repression in the United States* (New York: David McKay, 1973); See also Judson L. Jeffries, "Black Radicalism and Political Repression in Baltimore: The Case of the Black Panther Party," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 1 (January 2002): 64-98; and Charles E. Jones, "The Political Repression of the Black Panther Party, 1966-1971: The Case of the Oakland Bay Area," *Journal of Black Studies* 18, no. 4 (June 1988): 415-434.

[362] Reverend Dr. William Howard, *Political Repression and Government Surveillance: An Address by the Rev. Dr. William Howard President, National Council of Churches of Christ White Rock Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa. October 30, 1980* (New York: United Methodist Voluntary Service, 1981), 2.

[363] See see Dan Berger, "Rescuing Black Power from Civil Rights: Collective Memory and Saving the State in Twenty-First Century Prosecutions of the 1960s-Era Cases," *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, 3, no. 1 (2008): 1-27.

[364] Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (Boston: South End Press, 1988); Theodore Kornweible, *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy, 1919-1925* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998); and Erik S. McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom*. Esp. chapters 1-2; James H. Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1997); and Nan Elizabeth Woodruff, *American Congo: The African American Freedom Struggle in the Delta* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003).

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[366] Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Domestic Dissent* (Boston: South End Press, 1990), 106.

[367] David J. Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1981);

[368] See, Stokely Carmichael and Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, *Ready for the Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)* (New York & London: Scribner, 2003); Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Subject: Stokely Carmichael." Accessed online…

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[370] Kenneth O'Reilly, *Racial Matters: The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960-1972* (New York: The *Free Press*, 1989), 261-292.

[371] Churchill and Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression*, 39-53; and Jones, "Political Repression of the Black Panther Party."

[372] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Subject: Group on Advanced Leadership" [hereafter FBI-GOAL], Documents in possession of author.

[373] See for example, Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Subject: Betty Shabazz" [FBI-Betty Shabazz], 30 June 1958; and FBI-Betty Shabazz, 8/29/58. Accessed online…

[374] Director, FBI to SAC, Detroit (157-565), "Medgar Evers Rifle Club, Detroit, Michigan, RM," 3 August 1964.

[375] Conversation with Zoharah Simmons 20 February 2010. She believes that one of the men riding with her from Cleveland to Detroit was Ahmed Evans, who was arrested shortly after the founding convention after he participated in a shootout with police. For more information, see Louis H. Masotti and Jerome R. Corsi, *Shootout In Cleveland: Black Militants and the Police: A Staff Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (Washington, D.C., July 23, 1968).

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[378] "2 ARRESTED NEAR HOTEL OF McGOVERN." *Atlanta Daily World (1932-2003)*, July 14, 1972, http://www.proquest.com/ (accessed 22 April 2010); "2 Held at Hotel Of McGovern; Guns Seized." *The Washington Post, Times Herald (1959-1973)*, July 13, 1972, http://www.proquest.com/ (accessed 22 April 2010); "Pair Termed Envoys." *New York Times (1923-Current file)*, July 14, 1972, http://www.proquest.com/ (accessed 22 April 2010); "Pistol packers arrested." *Chicago Daily Defender (Daily Edition) (1960-1973)*, July 17, 1972, http://www.proquest.com/ (accessed 22 April 2010); "Separatists Jailed," *Washington Post, Times Herald (1959-1973)*, 15 October 1972, A22 http://www.proquest.com/ (accessed April 22, 2010); Wallace Turner, "2 With Guns Held Near M'Govern: Black Separatists Arrested After They Leave Car at Senator's Hotel," *New York Times (1923-Current file)*, 13 July 1972, http://www.proquest.com/ (accessed April 22, 2010).

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[380] See for example, Claude Brown, *Manchild in the Promised Land* (New York: Macmillan, 1965); Guy, *Afeni Shakur*; Shakur, *Assata*.

[381] DPD Memo 040169-10a, RIP for quote; DPD Phone Call report 040269-3a for phone call about doctor threat, RIP.

[382] DPD Memo 040469-1a and 2a-b, RIP.

[383] SIB Memo 040469-1a-c_det div, RIP.

[384] SIB Memo 040269-4a_det div, RIP.

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[386] "Gunmen Out to Get Me, Says Bethel Defendant," *Free Press* 30 October 1970, RIP 103070-1a; "RNA Calls Fuller Murder the 'Insane Work of a Mania[c]", *Michigan Chronicle* 07 November 1970, RIP 110770-1a; "Survival & Defense: We Must Survive America," Cockrel Box 18, Folder 26; Nadine Brown, "Says Fullers Sister: 'There Was Contract Out On My Brother,'" *Michigan Chronicle* 07 November 1970, RIP 117070-2a; and Fred Manardo, "Fuller Freed In Bethel Case, Is Slain by Knifer," *Detroit News* 20 October 1970, RIP 102070-1a

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[391] Obadele, *Free the Land!*

[392] Conversation with Baba Sekou.

[393] Obadele, *Free the Land!*, 73.

[394] **"**Director, Sovereignty Commission to The Honorable Herman Glasier, Executive Assistant to the Governor," 5 August 1970, Series 2515: Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records, 1994-2006, Mississippi Department of Archives and History [hereafter MSSCR] [http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=/data/sov_commission/images/png/cd09/072640.png&otherstuff=13|25|2|3|1|1|1|71709|] viewed 11 May 2010.

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[396] "Weather History for Jackson, Mississippi," http://www.almanac.com/weather/history/MS/Jackson/1971-08-18 (viewed 10 May 2010).

[397] See Abubakari, *Free the Land!* for details on the Lynch Street surrender, as well as reported beatings.

[398] Owusu Yaki Yakubu, "Who Are New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War?" *Crossroad* 4, no. 3 (Winter 1992), reprinted in *New Afrikan Political Prisoners & Prisoners of War Profiles* (Chicago: Spear & Shield Publications, 1998), 5.

[399] Yakubu, "Who Are," 5.

[400] For definitions of and distinctions between PPs and POWs, see Killingham, "Marilyn Killingham"; Nkechi Taifa…; Hamid; and Attiba Shanna; Safiya Bukhari. For Mumia, see Mumia Abu-Jamal, *We Want Freedom: A Life in the Black Panther Party* (Cambridge, Mass: South End Press, 2004); and J. Patrick O'Connor, *The Framing of Mumia Abu-Jamal* (Chicago: Lawrence-Hill, 2008).

[401] John Castellucci, *The Big Dance: The Untold Story of Kathy Boudin and the Terrorist Family That Committed the Brink's Robbery Murders* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1986); Shakur, *Assata*.

[402] See for example, Angela Y. Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003).

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[408] Conversation with Njeri Jackson; and Rohter, "25 Years and Exile."

[409] Shakur, *Assata*, 243.

[410] See Castellucci, *The Big Dance*.

[411] Shakur, *Assata*, 241-242

[412] Shakur, *Assata*.

[413] See *Black Liberation Army Communique: A Message From the Underground*, n.d. Nkechi Taifa Papers; .

[414] Black Liberation Army, "Messages from Clandestinity: Communique from Revolutionary Armed Task Force of the Black Liberation Army," *Arm the Spirit: A Revolutionary Prison Newspaper* no. 14 (Fall 1982), 6 & 16.

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[416] Lena Sherrod, "Mixed Jury Convicts 2 Revolutionaries," *New York Amsterdam News* 21 May 1988, 4.

[417] James Feron, "Hearing Begin in Brink's Case Amid Protesters," *New York Times* 14 September 1982, B3;

[418] A Collection of Biographies, *Can't Jail the Spirit: Political Prisoners in the U.S.* 4th Edition (Chicago: Chicago Editorial El Coqui, 1998).

[419] Michael Richardson, Jericho Movement Launches Petition to Reopen COINTELPRO Cases http://www.examiner.com/article/jericho-movement-launches-petition-to-reopen-cointelpro-cases (viewed 02 July 2012)